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NICHOLAS BREAKSPEAR

(HADRIAN IV.)

1154–1159

LIVES OF THE POPES IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

BY THE

REV. HORACE K. MANN, D.D.

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NICHOLAS BREAKSPEAR

(HADRIAN IV.)

A.D. 1154–1159.

THE ONLY ENGLISH POPE

BY THE

REV. HORACE K. MANN, D.D.

"De gente Anglorum, qui maxime familiares Apostolicæ Sedis semper existunt" (*Gesta Abb. Fontanel. A.D.* 747–752, ap. M.G. SS. II. 289).

HEAD MASTER OF ST. CUTHBERT'S GRAMMAR SCHOOL, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE

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1914.

To

HIS OLD SCHOOLFELLOW

CANON

JAMES FLINT

AT WHOSE SUGGESTION IT WAS PUBLISHED

THIS LITTLE BOOK

Is Affectionately Dedicated

BY THE

AUTHOR

A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME.

Jaffé, or Regesta . .	=	*Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Jaffé, 2nd ed., Lipsiæ, 1885.
Labbe	=	*Sacrosancta Concilia*, ed. Labbe and Cossart, Paris, 1671.
L. P., *Anastasius*, or the *Book of the Popes*	=	*Liber Pontificalis*, 2 vols., ed. L. Duchesne, Paris, 1886.
M. G. H., or Pertz .	=	*Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, either *Scriptores* (M. G. SS.) or *Epistolæ* (M. G. Epp.) or *Poetæ* (M. G. PP.).
P. G.	=	*Patrologia Græca*, ed. Migne, Paris.
P. L. . . .	=	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, Paris.
R. I. SS. . . .	=	*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. Muratori, Milan, 1723 ff.
R. F. SS. . . .	=	*Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, ed. Bouquet and others, Paris, 1738 ff.
R. S., following an edition of a book	=	The edition of the Chronicles, etc., published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.

The sign † placed before a date indicates that the date in question is the year of the death of the person after whose name the sign and date are placed.

The sign * placed before the title of a book indicates that the author of these volumes has seen the book in question well spoken of, but has not had the opportunity of examining it himself.

PREFACE.

THE accompanying biography is for the most part simply a reprint of that published in the ninth volume of my *Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages.* There has, however, been added to it an extra chapter on "The Greek Church and the Byzantine State." This has been done both because it seemed that the narrative of Hadrian's relations with them, as briefly set forth in the volume in question, would be scarcely intelligible if withdrawn from its connection with the further data on those subjects therein given, and because the other modern English biographers of Hadrian have scarcely alluded to his dealings with them. The "Introductory Chapter" which appeared in the same volume has also been here reproduced, in the belief that the reader, with a sketch before him of the epoch in which Hadrian lived, may be the more easily able to appreciate that Pontiff's position and work.

This separate publication of Hadrian's *Life* has been undertaken because it was pointed out to me that some people might like to read a little about the only English Pope, who for one reason or another might not wish to buy a volume containing other biographies in which they were less interested.

It is hoped, then, that this comparatively brief *Life* of Nicholas Breakspear may assist the other English biographies in making known a famous Englishman, of

whom one of the very greatest of his successors, Innocent III., said that he used to great advantage the talent that had been entrusted to him, and that, like a faithful and prudent servant, he did much for the glory of God's name, and for the credit of his own ministry.[1]

As a preface was not written for the volume referred to above, I gladly take this opportunity of sincerely thanking those who have in any way helped me in its production, and in this extract from it, especially my friends C. Hart, Esq., B.A., and F. F. Urquhart, Esq., M.A.

H. K. MANN.

[1] *Ep. Inn.*, viii. 214, Feb. 13, 1205. What Innocent here says specially of the "legate Nicholas, then bishop of Albano, and afterwards Roman Pontiff," and of his doings in Norway, has in the text been justly said both of the legate and of the Pope.

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INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

The flower of the Gregorian Renaissance, 1130–1305.

ALTHOUGH, with the pontificate of Honorius II., we closed that section of papal history which we designated "The Gregorian Renaissance," it must not be supposed that the advance made during that epoch in religion and in politics and in matters social and artistic came to a close with the death of that Pontiff (1130). The general march of civilisation inaugurated or encouraged by the great master Hildebrand, and by the Popes who influenced him or were more or less directly influenced by him, not only did not end with Pope Honorius, but reached its zenith after he had passed away. During the century and three-quarters (1130–1305) when the Popes exercised most influence in the temporal affairs of Europe, the seeds of progress sown by St. Leo IX., by the great men of his age and by their successors, came to full maturity. The hundred and seventy-five years which elapsed between the death of Honorius II. and the day when Clement V. transferred the seat of the Papacy from Rome on the Tiber to Avignon on the Rhone, and began that period so fatal to the Papacy known as the Babylonian Captivity, may be called the Flower of the Gregorian Renaissance. Indeed, to many minds the thirteenth century appears to be the Flower of all the Ages, the Heroic Hour of man's life on earth, the Greatest of all the Centuries.[1]

[1] *Cf. The Thirteenth greatest of Centuries*, by J. J. Walsh, New York, 1907, a book from which we have freely drawn in connection with this chapter.

At any rate, if to the thirteenth century be added those years of the twelfth century during which also papal temporal power was paramount, it cannot well be doubted that it is impossible to name another corresponding period when Europe made such rapid and sure strides along the paths of science and art, of theory and practice, and of pure thought and practical skill. The years which saw the Popes at the height of their temporal sway were vigorous years. They were the heyday of Christendom; the days when at least the imagination and the physical strength of Europe were at their best. They were the blithe and jocund years when the bloom of beauty is still to be seen in the face and form; when the reason is strong enough to put a curb on the wild vagaries of the imagination, but not dominant enough to crush its glorious exuberance; and when the hand has still all its suppleness and cunning, and the eye has not lost its quickness of perception and its delicacy of appreciation.

And now, of such as are not carried to belief by words we would ask for assent to our proposition "for the very works' sake."

Theology and philosophy.

As the noblest study of every man is not his fellow-man but his Maker, our survey of the works accomplished by the men of the epoch under consideration may well begin with those which had direct reference to God. Did the men of this age, we may ask, do anything great for the glory of the Almighty either in the order of mind or in the order of matter?

As in the life of man himself the different periods of his existence are distinguished by the development of different faculties—quickness of apprehension, vigour of reasoning, maturity of judgment—so it would seem to be with the life of the whole human race. The age in which we live will no doubt ever be distinguished as the age of the most

rapid application of the truths of physical science to the necessities, luxuries, and amusements of life. But the period during which the Popes exercised the greatest amount of temporal influence will ever stand out as the period when men made the most systematic study of the things of God, and showed the practical results of that abstract contemplation of the Eternal in the works which they left behind them—in the books which they wrote about their Creator, in the buildings which they erected and adorned wherein to worship Him, in the places which they founded wherein to study Him, and in the institutions which they founded whereby they might spread and improve the love of Him in his rational creatures, or lessen the trials and sufferings of those dear to Him.

The guides to the high thought of this age in philosophy and theology were the Schoolmen, those exact and truly advanced thinkers whom until comparatively recently it used, especially in this country, to be the fashion to decry, but who are now recognised by all the learned world to have reached a height of pure thought which has never been surpassed.[1] Following especially the guidance of Peter the Lombard, the Master of the Sentences (†1164),[2] a student of Abelard, but not a sharer of his heterodox teachings, and helped by a largely increased acquaintance

[1] "This book" (*The Great Schoolmen of the Middle Ages*, London, 1881), writes its author, Mr. W. J. Townsend, "humbly seeks to aid in the reversal of the general verdict of condemnation passed on the Schoolmen, and to offer some evidence that as men they were devout, liberal, and earnest; that as writers and thinkers they were learned, subtle, penetrating, and logical; and that as contributors to the philosophical and theological thought of Christendom they aided enormously the cause of human progress" (p. 13). Mr. Townsend had previously quoted a number of great modern authors who had given expression to similar views.

[2] So called from his famous book, *Quatuor libri Sententiarum.*

with Aristotle,[1] a succession of powerful thinkers and able teachers cast into logical sequence the whole body of Christian doctrine, and formed a philosophical system to lead up to revealed truth, and then to develop that truth itself. This stupendous constructive task was accomplished for the most part in the thirteenth century, justly known as the Golden Age of Scholasticism.

The leader of this intellectual *Sacred Band* was the *Angelic Doctor*, the Dominican, St. Thomas Aquinas. Dying in 1274, whilst on his way to the council of Lyons, to which he had been specially summoned by Gregory X., he left behind him, in his *Summa Theologiæ*, a work which, even in the very dark days of English historical ignorance, was found worthy of the closest study by David Hume,[2] and which authors who do not accept his conclusions now regard "as a monument of human learning, ingenuity, industry, and piety which has never been surpassed by any writer in Christendom."[3]

The Angelic Doctor was supported, the thirteenth century

[1] By the beginning of the thirteenth century the entire works of Aristotle, his ethical, physical, and metaphysical treatises, were translated into Latin, many of them having been translated for the first time towards the close of the preceding century from the Arabic. As the thirteenth century advanced, more accurate versions were made from the original Greek. This translation from the Greek "seems to have been undertaken at the command of Pope Urban IV. (1261–5), who had renewed the former prohibitions put upon the use of Aristotle at the Paris University, in the older, shall we say, Averroistic (Arabic) versions."—Taylor, *The Mediæval Mind*, ii. 391, London, 1911.

[2] *Cf. Dublin Review*, i. p. 435.

[3] Townsend, *l.c.*, p. 205. *Cf.* Taylor, *l.c.*, ii. p. 433 ff., and especially the monumental, if somewhat diffuse, work of R. B. Vaughan, *Life and Labours of St. Thomas of Aquin*, London, 1872. His *Summa contra Gentiles* has already been translated into English (J. Rickaby, London, 1905), and the Dominican Fathers have begun the great work of translating his *Summa Theologiæ*. The praise given to the saint by Leo XIII. has resulted in a great increase of the study of his works and in the output of splendid new editions of them.

was glorified, and subsequent ages were enlightened by a galaxy of other doctors—by the *Universal Doctor*, Albertus Magnus (†1280);[1] by the English *Irrefragable Doctor*, Alexander of Hales (†1245); by the *Subtle Doctor*, Duns Scotus (†1308); and by the *Seraphic Doctor*, St. Bonaventure (†1274), who "passed away probably more esteemed and loved than any man of his generation."[2] With these great men, masters, for the most part, of the deductive sciences, we must associate one whose life was almost synchronous with the thirteenth century (*c.* 1210–*c.* 1294), viz., the Franciscan friar Roger Bacon,[3] one of the most distinguished of the early teachers of the value of induction, and one whose genius is accounted by many as superior to that of his namesake Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam. To the Franciscan Roger Bacon we must add the *Illuminated Doctor*, the Spaniard, Raymond Lull, Franciscan tertiary, mystic, missionary, and martyr (1232–1315), most voluminous writer on theology, philosophy, and science, and the inspirer of Leibnitz—in many ways the most fascinating character of a fascinating century.[4] Contemporary at least with the youth of all these great champions of orthodoxy was Peter Abelard (†1142), who, if he has left behind him smaller literary monuments than those of these Christian giants, and a name not to be compared with theirs, was still perhaps in some way the cause of their greatness. His intellectual pugnacity and restlessness fired

[1] See his *life*, *Albert the Great*, by Sighart, Eng. trans., London, 1876.

[2] Townsend, p. 189.

[3] On the dates of Roger's birth, etc., see Ch. Jourdain in his *Excursions histor. à travers le Moyen Age*, p. 131 ff., Paris, 1888.

[4] W. T. A. Barber (*Raymond Lull*, London, 1903) has written a sympathetic life of R. L., but it does not appear to be so good or so accurate as *Le bienheureux R. Lulle*, by M. André, Paris, 1900. It is the latter (p. 67) who says: "que Leibniz n'ait pas dédaigné la lecture de R. Lulle, et qu'il en ait tiré bon parti."

the minds of men with a zeal for dissecting every proposition that was brought before them. He was one of the greatest stimulators of keen and scientific thought, not merely of his own age, but of many ages. Both theology and what was then regarded as its handmaid, philosophy, owe a great debt to the beloved of Heloise.

But the Scholastics did more than influence for all succeeding time the philosophic thought of the Church. With their "conclusive arguments against the Manichees" they contributed not a little to save European morals. The heresies which permeated the continent of Europe and especially the south of France, particularly during the latter half of the twelfth century and the first half of the thirteenth, were for the most part of a Manichæan type. To hopelessly irrational theories with regard to the Deity and the origin of evil they joined doctrines with regard to marriage which led either to wild debauchery or, perhaps what was more usual, and certainly was more harmful, to practices which, had they been suffered to spread, would have put an end to the race. Now the spread of these fatal doctrines was stopped not merely by the sword, but by the philosophy of the Scholastics. That "combination of Greek sanity and Christian spiritualism" known as Scholasticism not only materially helped to destroy "Albigensianism," but rendered a subsequent diffusion of such extravagances as that term included almost impossible. The great heresies of more recent times were "less fundamental, less dangerous to the idea of God and of Christian morals."[1]

Strange as it may seem to many, the Scholastics also exercised a profound influence upon language. Not a few,

[1] I owe this paragraph to the suggestion and words of my friend Mr. F. F. Urquhart, to whom I am also indebted for other valuable assistance in the preparation of this volume for the press.

Photo Alinari

The Cloister of St. John Lateran. (Twelfth century.)

in thinking of the language of the Scholastics, set it down as a jargon in very indifferent Latin. But whatever else it was, it assuredly was a highly technical and very exact language, and it is in this direction that it has influenced modern language. Professor Saintsbury is of opinion that it cannot be denied that the Scholastics exerted at least "a far-reaching influence in mere language, in mere system of arrangement and expression. . . . If at the outset of the career of modern language," he continues, "men had thought with the looseness of modern thought, had indulged in the haphazard slovenliness of modern logic, had popularised theology and vulgarised rhetoric, as we have seen both popularised and vulgarised since, we should indeed have been in evil case." From this evil case the precise scientific accuracy of the language of the *Schools* has saved us.

Mysticism. The abbey of St. Victor.

But while all the thinkers of this age of thinking knew that the nature and attributes of God should be studied in order to be both known and loved, some would have had them studied more to enkindle love of Him than to store up knowledge regarding Him, and indeed would have had them studied more by His love and for His love than by mere logic for the acquisition of abstract truths even about Him. In the Parisian abbey of St. Victor, of which one of the early Scholastic teachers, William of Champeaux, was the first abbot (†1121), there succeeded one another a number of abbots as famous for their learning as for their piety. Following the example of William, and reacting against that glorification of unaided reason of which Abelard was the hero, they investigated the nature of man's union with his Maker by love; they studied the paths that best lead to Him; they raised mysticism to a science. "Love that you may understand," was their motto. And while abbots Hugh of St. Victor (†1141) and Richard

of St. Victor (†1173) were engaged in establishing the principles of mysticism in learned works, Adam of St. Victor (†1192) gave them utterance in imperishable hymns.[1]

Outside the famous abbey, the principles of mysticism were put into practice and propagated by the *Mellifluous Doctor*, St. Bernard, and by the nuns St Hildegard of Bingen (†1179) and Elizabeth of Schoenau (†1165), of whom a contemporary annalist wrote: "In these days God made manifest His power through the frail sex, in the two maidens Hildegard and Elizabeth, whom He filled with a prophetic spirit, making many kinds of visions apparent to them through His messages, which are to be seen in writing."[2] To these we must add three names which "have given lasting fame" to the convent of Helfta, near Eisleben, in Saxony—the two Mechthilds, Mechthild the Beguine of Magdeburg († *c.* 1280), and Mechthild of Hackeborn († *c.* 1300), and Gertrude, known as Gertrude the Great (†1311).[3] They brought a European reputation to their convent home, not only by their lives, but also by their writings. "All the qualities," writes a modern elegant lady writer whose want of the Catholic faith does not blind her to the charm of so many nuns, "which make early mysticism attractive—moral elevation, impassioned fervour, intense realism, and an almost boundless imagination—are here found reflected in the writings of

[1] *Cf.* Gautier, *Œuvres poét. d'A. de St. Vict.*, 1858; English translation by D. S. Wrangham, 1881. Trench regards him as "the foremost among the sacred Latin poets of the Middle Ages." *Cf. Hist. of Rom. Lit.*, ed. Thompson, 1852.

[2] *Annal. Palidenses*, an. 1158, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. 90, cited by Eckenstein, *Woman under Monasticism*, p. 257.

[3] On Mechthild of Magdeburg, see Mrs. A. Kemp-Welch, *Of Six Mediæval Women*, London, 1913. A *life* of *St. Gertrude the Great* has just been published by Sands of London.

three women who were inmates of the same convent and worked and wrote contemporaneously."[1]

Literature in the twelfth century. Classical studies.

Not all the world, however, devoted themselves principally to the study of theology and philosophy. The liberal arts were not neglected, if only because, as many pious people then said, if they were not studied, the sacred Scriptures themselves could not be thoroughly understood. In fact, the twelfth century was the literary period of the Middle Ages. In that century the classical studies of the epoch, begun in the schools of France in the preceding century, reached their zenith;[2] and, stimulated by the discovery of classical documents, showed themselves a resplendent dawn of the revival of classical studies which took place in the fifteenth century.[3] Under such "lovers of letters" as Abelard, wrote our own John of Salisbury, whose writings bear eloquent witness to the classical revival of his times, "the arts have come back to us, and, as though their sentence of banishment had been reversed, they have, after their exile, re-obtained their former honour and favour."[4] The progress of classical studies was, however, for the time being, stopped before the close of the twelfth century by an absorbing zeal for the study of law, which was greatly fostered by the needs of a very

[1] Eckenstein, p. 328 f. *Cf.* Taylor, *The Mediæval Mind*, I. ch. xix., "The Visions of Ascetic Women." These authors are cited for their facts, and not for their explanations of the phenomena which they record. The supernatural does not seem to appeal to them.

[2] Taylor, *The Mediæval Mind*, ii. 117, 168.

[3] Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe*, i. 61; Pater, *The Renaissance*, pp. 1 and 9, London, 1888.

[4] *Metalog.*, i. 5. *Cf.* Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, p. 586, and E. Boutaric, *Vincent de Beauvais et la connaissance de l'antiquité classique au* 13e *siècle*, ap. *Rev. des Quest. Hist.*, 1875, p. 1 ff. In his zeal for the classics, Boutaric, however, does not do justice to the great Scholastics of the thirteenth century. "On peut affirmer qu'à la fin du xie siècle et au siècle suivant il y eut une haute culture intellectuelle" (p. 9).

litigious and law-making age, and by the attention which was a little later everywhere given to theology and philosophy.

Physical science.

But the days in which the temporal influence of the Popes was greatest in Europe were not remarkable merely for striking advances in theology, philosophy, and mysticism, and for a revival of classical studies. Physical science, law, history, the study of languages and of literature and art in all their branches, also made conspicuous progress. "Modern science," says Canon Rashdall,[1] "has its roots in the intellectual revival of the twelfth century, as much as modern culture and modern learning and modern philosophy." Experimental science in general was, under men like Albertus Magnus[2] and Friar Bacon, much practised in the thirteenth century. In Paris the theory and practice of medicine was then raised to a high pitch by Gilles de Corbeil (†*c.* 1224), whose extraordinary ability was celebrated by a contemporary namesake in verse,[3] and whose pre-eminent position in the medical world was extolled by a distinguished physician of the seventeenth century, Dr. G. Naudé (†1653), who eagerly looked forward to the day when a genius would arise to do justice to his medical and to his literary worth, both so superior to the age in which he lived.[4] In Italy, in particular, the practical side of medicine received no little attention, especially at the hands of William of Saliceto (†1276) and

[1] *The Universities*, i. 242. "The assertion is undeniable that with the logical and metaphysical studies of that age, physics now assume an importance they had not before." So writes Mr. Brewer, p. xliv, in his preface to the *Monumenta Franciscana*, R. S.

[2] He wrote over fifteen treatises on science subjects.

[3] "Celeberrimus arte medendi," Gilles de Paris, ap. Vieillard, *Gilles de Corbeil*, p. 17 f. *Cf.* p. 3 f., Paris, 1909.

[4] Ap. *ib.*, p. 15 f. Naudé calls him "te Philippi-Augusti a consiliis valetudinis principem . . . . posteris omnibus, omnibus saeculis colendum."

his great pupil, the cleric Lanfranc of Milan, who, we know, was teaching at Paris in 1295. Both these men are particularly praised by the most distinguished modern physicians for their clear realisation of "the danger of separating surgery from medicine," and for their splendid practical work. Lanfranc is credited with having written "one of the classics of mediæval surgery."[1] It was also in that country during this period that a form of anæsthesia appears to have been first introduced by Ugo da Lucca,[2] and the first public health act was passed.[3] It is to the same country, moreover, that we owe the introduction of algebra. Leonardo, a merchant of Pisa, who had travelled in Africa and in the East, published his treatise on the subject in 1202. Nor was it long before that date that our decimal system of numerals was derived from the Arabs, and that the secret paths of the sea began to be explored by the aid of the mariner's compass.[4] Alfonso X., *el Sabio*, who created Castilian prose, founded the first scientific society,[5] and the inductive sciences were in the thirteenth century particularly honoured when, in 1276, a most ardent devotee of medicine, Peter of Portugal, was raised to the papal throne as John (XX.) XXI.[6]

[1] See the remarks of Professor Allbutt of Cambridge (1904), quoted by Walsh, *The Thirteenth greatest of Centuries*, p. 83 ff.

[2] *Cf.* Walsh, *The Popes and Science*, p. 9. *Cf.* pp. 14, 248; New York, 1908. See also Gaspary, *Italian Literature*, p. 99.

[3] Walsh, *John XXI.*, p. 388, ap. *Eccles. Review*, Philadelphia, Oct. 1908.

[4] *Cf.* the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, sub voc. *Algebra*, *Numerals*, and *Compass*.

[5] *Cf.* Puymaigre, *Les vieux auteurs Castillans*, 2nd series, pp. 14, 177.

[6] *Ib. Cf. infra.* In Paradise Dante found:

. . . . "Pietro Ispano,
Lo qual giù luce in dodici libelli":

"And he of Spain in his twelves volumes shining." *Par.*, xii. 135. "He of Spain" is Peter of Portugal, or Petrus Ispanus, as he is often called.

Law.

The study of law, both civil and canonical, so ably inaugurated in the first half of the twelfth century, was pushed rapidly forward during the epoch under discussion. And in this connection we may make special mention of Master Vacarius, or Baclareus (†1159), "a Lombard by birth, a man of integrity and well skilled in the laws, (who) was employed in the year 1149 in treating Roman jurisprudence in England; while many people, rich and poor, flocked to hear his expositions. At the suggestion of the poor," continues Robert de Monte, whom we are quoting, "he excerpted ten books from the Codex and Digests—a collection which, if properly mastered, is sufficient for the decision of all legal questions which are usually discussed in the schools."[1]

But it was not merely that this age produced a few great teachers of law. Especially in its thirteenth-century portion, it was an age of lawgivers. Writing of Edward I., Stubbs reminds us that he was not only himself a lawgiver, but that "he lived in a legal age, the age that had seen Frederick II. legislating for Sicily, Lewis IX. for France, and Alfonso the Wise for Castile, the age that witnessed the greatest inroad of written law upon custom and tradition that had occurred since the date of the Capitularies; that saw the growth of great legal schools in the universities, and found in the revived Roman jurisprudence a treasury of principles, rules, and definitions applicable to systems of law which had grown up independently of the Imperial codes."[2]

What Vacarius was as a teacher in England in the middle of the twelfth century, Bracton (†1268) was as a writer about the middle of the thirteenth. Though an ecclesiastic, he

[1] *Chron.*, an. 1149. *Cf.* Vinogradoff, *Roman Law in Mediæva Europe.*

[2] *The Constitutional Hist. of England*, ii. p. 107, Oxford, 1875.

was for many years a judge under Henry III., and, in his *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ*,[1] he left behind him a work which has been described by a most competent authority, Maitland, as "the crown and flower of English mediæval jurisprudence,"[2] and as "both marking and making a critical moment in the history of English law, and therefore in the essential history of the English people."[3]

The making of laws, and their application to the subject.

There is surely no need to remind Englishmen that in this epoch in England men did not merely teach and write about laws. They made them, and they devised means for having them put into execution, for having them observed. Who does not know that it was in 1215 that the Magna Carta was signed by King John? and who is not aware of its great importance in the history of the development of our present liberties? It has been called, with some exaggeration but with no little truth, "the first great public act of the nation, after it has realised its own identity; . . . and the whole of the constitutional history of England is little more than a commentary on Magna Carta."[4]

And if there is no Englishman who is ignorant that the Magna Carta is, to a considerable extent, the theoretical foundation of his liberties, there is no Englishman who is ignorant that their practical foundation, begun by Simon de Montfort (†1265), was completed under Edward I. De Montfort's Parliament of 1265 was the archetype of our Legislative Assembly of to-day. "He had had the genius

[1] Six vols., R. S. See also his *Notebook*, ed. Maitland, Cambridge, 1887.

[2] Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of English Law*, i. p. 286, ed. 1898.

[3] Maitland, *Bracton's Notebook*, i. p. 1. I owe these references to *The Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Literature*. Stubbs, *l.c.*, ii. 107, points out how Bracton's labours were at once put "to practical use" by the judges of the land.

[4] Stubbs, *l.c.*, i. p. 532. *Cf.* W. S. M'Kechnie, *Magna Carta, a Commentary on the Great Charter of King John*, Glasgow, 1905.

to interpret the mind of the nation, and to anticipate the line which was taken by later progress."[1]

While De Montfort was forging an instrument which was at last to pluck entirely from the hands of our kings the power of arbitrarily tampering with the laws, the Plantagenet lawyers developed a system, the modern trial by jury, by which our rulers were hindered from arbitrarily applying them. In the days of Henry II., "from being an exceptional favour, it became under his hand a part of the settled law of the land, a resource which was open to every suitor."[2]

Great legislative development in Germany, France, Spain, Hungary.

The laying of a country's legal foundations in this period was not confined to England. This age, on the contrary, "saw the birth of most of the European systems of national legislation, the great *Mirrors* of Suabia and Saxony, the first laws published in German by Frederick II. at the Diet of Mainz, and the code given by him to Sicily; and it saw in France the *Établissements* of St. Louis, the *Common Law* of Pierre des Fontaines, and the *Customs of Beauvoisis* of Philip of Beaumanoir, and the French version of the *Assizes of Jerusalem*, the most complete summary of laws based on Christianity and the ideas of chivalry."[3]

What is true for England, for France, and for Germany is still truer for Spain, the country of that noble people

[1] Stubbs, ii. p. 91. In Spain, Germany, and Sicily also the people began during this epoch to secure a voice in the government of their country.

[2] Stubbs, *l.c.*, i. 614.

[3] Montalembert, *Hist. de Ste. Élizabeth*, i. 88 f. Brussels, 1838. Translations of this beautiful work into English have been made by Phillips, 1839, and by F. D. Hoyt, New York, 1903. *Cf.* Wallon, *St. Louis*, p. 304 ff., Tours, 1878, who adds the *Traité* of P. des F. The *Mirror* of Saxony (*Sachsenspiegel*) put Saxon law into writing about 1220, and furnished the foundations for the *Schwabenspiegel* (1275), a South German code "which claimed to represent the common law of Germany, and did in fact obtain over a wide area."—Scherer, *A Hist. of German Lit.*, i. 223.

to whom but seldom is justice done by English historians, but of whom one at least has the knowledge and the candour to write: "The Spanish citizen . . . is at the present day at once the poorest and the proudest man in Europe—the most courtly, the most conservative, and the most silent of the champions of equality and the rights of man. The Spanish people, take it all for all, is perhaps the best in the world."[1] This splendid people had won for themselves at the Cortes of Burgos in 1169 direct popular representation well-nigh a hundred years before the assembly of the Parliament of Simon de Montfort of which we have just spoken.[2] And one of their great thirteenth-century kings, Alfonso X., el Sabio (the Learned or the Wise, 1252–1284), of Leon and Castile, is justly compared as a lawgiver with Justinian and Napoleon. His code, the *Siete Partidas* (1265), is "a comprehensive digest of the code of Justinian, and of that of the Visigoths, of the national and local *Fueros*, of the canon law, and of the decrees of the great councils of Spain," and "remained for over six hundred years not only the great text-book of Spanish jurisprudence, but the greatest exclusively national code of laws in Europe."[3]

[1] Burke—Hume, *A Hist. of Spain*, i. 369.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 370. "Certainly by 1188," adds Hume, "the presence of the burgesses, or their deputies 'chosen by lot,' had become quite a matter of course" in the Cortes.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 282. Dunham, *Spain and Portugal*, iv. 121, speaks to the same effect. Butler Clarke, *Spanish Literature*, p. 19, says they give "proof of broad and liberal views rare even in a more enlightened age." With regard to the power of the Pope, *Las Partidas* (*Part.* ii., tit. 5, l. 5) lays down that he can arrange dioceses as he pleases, deal with bishops and elections as he likes, is the sole judge of the appeals which anyone can make to him, and must be the final referee with regard to all important matters, "for all the power of the bishops is concentrated in him." *Cf.* R. St.-Hilaire, *Hist. d'Espagne*, iv. p. 225 ff., for an analysis of the *Partidas*; and also *Les vieux auteurs castillans*, by the Comte de Puymaigre, 2nd series, p. 45 ff., Paris, 1890.

The Magna Carta of Hungary, 1222.

The same advance in law and liberty was at this same time being made in the smaller countries of Europe as in the larger. "The Laws of Lamego, so called because they were approved in the cortes assembled at that place in the reign of the first king" of Portugal, are the foundation of the national code of that country;[1] and the *Golden Bull* of Andrew II. of Hungary (1222) became the Magna Carta of the Hungarians. His Bull it was which in after ages they called upon their kings to confirm, as did our countrymen with regard to the Magna Carta of King John.[2] The Golden Bull, we are told, was "a piece of legislation of the first importance to the Hungarian constitution. . . . It broke the power of the Counts and gave extensive privileges to the ecclesiastical and secular nobility of lower rank, securing to the latter a permanent influence upon government legislation and administration."[3] Its initial words show the spirit of the age which wrought all these great deeds. It began: "In the name of the Holy Trinity and undivided Unity."

Law in Norway.

Nor is it without interest that, while Edward I. in our own country was earning the title of the English Justinian, Magnus, king of Norway (1263–80), was deservedly winning for himself the appellation of *Lagabeter*, the mender of the Laws. His code of laws, which he compiled "from the four principal customary laws prevailing in the different provinces," and which "was received as law by the people assembled in the Gala-Ting, in the 1274th winter from

[1] Dunham, *l.c.*, iv. 190 ff.

[2] *Cf.* the bull of King Louis I. of Hungary (1351) confirming the Golden Bull of Andrew II., which it repeats word for word. *Cf.* the text and facsimile of the bull of Louis ap. Helmott, *The World's Hist.*, v., oppos. p. 380.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 381. Vambery, *Hungary*, p. 127 ff.; and Sayous, *Hist. des Hongrois*, i. p. 227 ff., pass the same judgment on the *Golden Bull*. *Cf.* E. Hantos, *The Magna Carta of the English and of the Hungarian Constitution*, 1904.

the birth of Christ," proved one of the most effective instruments in bringing about the unity of Norway.[1]

Switzerland.

Moreover, it was before the close of the thirteenth century (1291) that the three cantons round Lake Lucerne, those of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, swore to stand together against all aggression and to acknowledge none but native judges. This covenant was to endure for ever. "This first Perpetual League became the historical basis of the (Swiss) Confederation."[2]

Italy.

While we cannot expect to find in Italy a national code, as it was subject to so many practically independent civil authorities, we do find there in this age a greater advance towards liberty than in any other country. The *Assises* of King Roger II. of Sicily,[3] completed by the Constitutions of Frederick II., endowed Sicily and Southern Italy with the benefits of fixed general law;[4] the semi-independent barons of Central Italy were made more and more to acknowledge the authority of their suzerain the Pope;[5] and in North Italy all power had in a multitude of free burghs passed into the hands of the people, and there was developed in these cities an amount of individual liberty and enterprise that had not been seen since the palmy days of the Greek Republics.

Canon law.

Hand in hand with the civil law there marched towards the grand goal of legal unity the law of the Church, the Canon Law. To Gratian's *Concordance of Discordant Canons*, which constitutes the first part of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, and which is said to have been confirmed by Eugenius III. (†1153), there was added during this period

[1] Crichton and Wheaton, *Scandinavia*, i. 306 f.

[2] Dändliker, *A Short Hist. of Switzerland*, p. 44, London, 1899.

[3] *Cf.* Curtis, *Roger the Great*, ch. ix.

[4] *Cf.* Kington, *Life of Fred. II.*, i. p. 363 ff.

[5] Hence Innocent III. is regarded by some writers as the real founder of the Papal States.

the most important portion of the second part of the Corpus, the *Decretals of Pope Gregory IX.* (†1241),[1] which embodied the Decretals of Innocent III., sometimes called the "Father of Law (Pater Juris)." Since the days of Boniface VIII., who was the last Pope but one of this epoch (1130–1305), and who added a sixth book to the Decretals, comparatively little has been done for Canon Law till the present time. And now, under the orders of the reigning Pontiff, Pius X., the great work of codifying the Canon Law is in active progress.

History. Fortunately, the great deeds that were done in the Middle Ages, and the heroic lives that were then lived, did not suffer from the want of Homers to tell the glorious tales. The day, indeed, was not over of the Chronicles, which with true Christian instinct always began their record with the story of the first pair of human beings who came from the hand of God. But in this age there sprang up all over the West a number of men who set down in striking language, and in true historic style, the great achievements which they witnessed, or in which they took part. Geoffrey of Villehardouin's history of the capture of Constantinople by the men who formed the Fourth Crusade (1204) is not only the first history written in the French tongue, but it has never been surpassed for its ingenuousness and for its graphic powers. Though they had not the inestimable advantage of writing, like Villehardouin, in a language just fresh from the mould in which it had been cast, William of Newburgh, *Benedict of Peterborough*, Roger of Hoveden, and, last but not least,

[1] As Gregory's Preface states, the work of compilation was done by the Dominican, St. Raymund of Pennafort (†1275), "per dilectum filium Raymundum, capellanum et poenitentiarum nostrum." It is looked upon, says Butler in his *life* of R. (Jan. 23), as "the best finished part of the body of Canon Law; on which account the canonists have usually chosen it for the texts of their comments."

Photo Alinari

The Cloister of St. Lawrence outside-the-walls. (Twelfth century.)

Matthew Paris[1] brought to our country undying fame by their historical works. Whatever were the faults of Paris, it must be confessed that he was the greatest of the monastic historians, as his Italian contemporary, the Franciscan Salimbene, was the liveliest. But in the last year of the thirteenth century another Italian began to write a history which put even that of Salimbene completely into the shade. The Florentine Giovanni Villani started in the year 1300 to write the most naïve and speaking chronicle to which the Italian tongue has ever given utterance.[2]

While such modern historians as Stubbs and Green, Symonds and Gregorovius give unstinted praise to the mediæval historians we have just named, Thomas Carlyle expresses high approval of the biography of Abbot Sampson, the humorous and telling production of the monk, Jocelyn of Brakelond. But for everyone who knows and appreciates the Chronicle of Jocelyn, there are dozens who have read with pleasure and admiration the artless narrative of Jean de Joinville, in which a companion recounts "the holy words and the good deeds" of his master, St. Louis of France, the last model of Christian kings.

In the opinion of many, however, and certainly in the opinion of modern Spanish writers,[3] the historians of Spain during this stirring epoch were even more distinguished than those of the other countries we have named. Of

[1] *Cf.* on the character of Matthew Paris, A. L. Smith, *Church and State in the Middle Ages*, p. 167 ff, Oxford, 1913.

[2] *Cf.* the judgment of Symonds, *The Age of the Despots*, p. 198 ff., London, 1897. He regards "the whole work of Villani as a monument unique in mediæval literature."

[3] Writes Altamira, *Hist. de España*, i. 513: "Ya hemos hecho antes alguna indicación acerca de la gran importancia que adquirió en este período la literatura histórica, *sobrepujando á la de otros países europeos.*" *Cf.* p. 514.

these, the most famous is the Archbishop of Toledo, Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (†1247), who is regarded by some writers as "the most renowned chronicler of the thirteenth century," and whom the Spaniards justly regard as "the founder of their country's history." Among the other Spanish historians who dignified the thirteenth century, we will name but two more. Of these, one, Alfonso X., el Sabio, of Castile (1252–1284), wrote in the noblest language in the world. His *Cronica General* of Spain is described as the "first of Castilian classics."[1] The other, also a king, En Jaime of Aragon, *el Conquistador*, wrote in Catalan a chronicle which he continued to a date just preceding his death (†1276), and which one learned in things Spanish declares to be "written with frank and manly simplicity," and to be of "very great" value as an historical document.[2]

Languages.

The intensity of the life which throbbed throughout Europe during these ages when the new nations were getting to know themselves, resulted in incessant movement. The Crusades against the Turks, the Moors, and the Slavs, commerce, a real craving for education, the capture of Constantinople by the Latins,[3] the foundation of new Latin principalities in the Byzantine Empire, and a fresh outburst of missionary zeal on the part of the vigorous Orders of SS. Dominic and Francis, brought the peoples of Europe into close contact with the Greeks and the Orientals, and developed new needs and new desires. Necessity and curiosity led the Westerns to wish to know something of the languages of the men with whom they

[1] Burke, *Hist. of Spain*, i. 277. The *C. G.* began with the creation, and closes with the year 1252.

[2] Butler Clarke, *Spanish Literature*, p. 56.

[3] The visit of several Armenians to this country in the thirteenth century is justly connected with the Latin Empire of Constantinople *Cf.* Mat. Par., *Hist. Maj.*, iii. 163, etc.

had so many relations. Private individuals and public authorities began to display an energetic interest in Greek and in the Oriental tongues.

Robert de Monte[1] tells us of Burgundio of Pisa, "well skilled in the eloquence of Greece and Rome," who translated much of the Bible and other works from Greek into Latin. Our countryman, Adelhard of Bath, who was still living in the year 1130, travelled in the East, and translated a number of Arabic scientific works into the then common language of the learned.[2] Of another of our countrymen, the distinguished bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste, his learned contemporary, Roger Bacon, wrote[3] that he "summoned Greeks, and caused books on Greek grammar to be brought together from Greece and other countries." That marvellous enthusiast Raymond Lull did for Arabic what Grosseteste did for Greek. He translated Arabic works himself, and founded in his native Majorca, on his own estate at Miramar, a college wherein thirteen Franciscan friars were taught Arabic, in preparation for the Eastern missions (1276). He had the satisfaction of seeing his enterprise confirmed by a bull of Pope John XXI.[4] For the benefit of the unbeliever we find him at the very close of the century urging the

[1] Ad an. 1182. Burgundio was present at the famous disputations which Anselm of Havelberg held at Constantinople, and which will be described in the sequel.

[2] On him see the new *Dict. d'hist. et de géog. ecclés.*, by Baudrillart and others, i. 522.

[3] *Opus Tertium*, p. 91, quoted by Stevenson, p. 53, in his excellent *Robert Grosseteste*. John of Salisbury (ep. 229 or ap. *Materials for the Hist. of Becket*, ii. 261, R.S.) says that a certain John the Saracen translated into Latin the works of St. Dionysius the Areopagite.

[4] Dec. 16, 1276. *Cf.* Jaffé, 21183. *Cf.* the efforts of Peter the Venerable to secure a good translation of the Coran. See his ep. iv. 17, and his treatise *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 189, Prolog., c. 15, p. 671; and Martène, *Ampl. Coll.*, ix. p. 1120 ff. See also Demimuid, *Pierre-le-Vénérable*, ch. vi.

University of Paris, "where the spring of the Divine Knowledge gushes forth, and where the light of the truth shines forth on Christian peoples," to exhort Philip the Fair to found chairs for "Arabic, Tartar, and Greek studies (1298–9)."[1]

The zeal of the Franciscan tertiary Lull in the pursuit of the knowledge of languages was rivalled by the Dominicans. In 1256 Humbert, the *General* of the Dominicans, informed the brethren of the Order that "their brothers in the parts of Spain who had for many years been studying Arabic among the Saracens, had not only made laudable progress in their studies, but had even brought many of the Saracens themselves to the faith."[2]

Kings, emperors, and Popes also strove to advance the study of languages.

Having Moslems in their territories, it was only natural that Frederick II., emperor and king of Sicily,[3] and the kings of Spain should encourage the study of Arabic. In Spain especially do we meet with considerable linguistic activity. In that favoured land we find at an early period a school of translators encouraged by Alfonso VI. of Leon, and especially by Alfonso VII., *el Emperador*, of Leon and Castile (1126–1157), who made known to Christian Europe the Arabian philosophers, Avicena, Averroës, and many others.[4] King James I. of Aragon, the Chronicler, caused many works to be translated into Catalan;[5] and the kings of Castile and Aragon founded schools for Arabic in Marcia, and in the universities of Salamanca and Seville.[6]

[1] Denifle, *Chart. Univer. Par.*, ii. 83. He wrote to Philip himself, to the Pope and others to the same effect. *Cf. ib.*, p. 84 n.; and Barber, *R. Lull*, p. 97, etc. [2] Denifle, *ib.*, i. 318, June 1256.

[3] *Cf.* Kington, *Fred. II.*, i. 438 f. With Greeks in S. Italy, Frederick had also to promote the study of their language.

[4] Altamira, *l.c.*, i. 512–3. [5] Swift, *King James*, p. 255.

[6] Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, ii., pt. i., p. 81 f.

In connection with the latter university there exists a bull of Alexander IV. (1260) recognising it as a *Studium Generale* for the study of Arabic;[1] for he was one of the many Popes who interested themselves in this language movement.

Innocent IV., Alexander IV., and Honorius IV. and the study of languages.

In the days of Innocent IV., there was at Paris the so-called Collegium Constantinopolitanum or Orientale, whither that Pope had caused to be sent ten Eastern youths skilled in Arabic and other Oriental languages, to study theology with a view to subsequent missionary work. For the support of these youths the Pope bade the chancellor of Paris make provision, lest want of the necessaries of life should compel them to abandon their studies.[2] Alexander IV. followed with letters to the same effect.[3] The college grew. Pope after Pope interested himself in it; and Honorius IV., besides doing likewise,[4] founded at Rome, on the representations of Raymond Lull, a school like that at Miramar.[5]

The age of epic and lyric poetry.

After all, however, in the matter of the study of languages, the age we are reviewing was rather one of promise than of realisation; and, seeing that it is especially as an age of realisations that we are considering it, we had better turn without more ado to other subjects wherein work for all time was accomplished. During this prolific age not merely were the foundations laid of the national literatures of Europe, but in some departments of it structures were raised which have never been surpassed.

(1) In Germany.

If in Germany, however, during the greater portion of this epoch, its literary years were in many branches at

[1] *Ib.*, and Hergenröther, *Hist. de l'église*, iv. 180.

[2] Ep. of June 1248, ap. Denifle, *Chart. Paris*, i. p. 212. *Cf.* the two following letters.

[3] *E.g.*, *ib.*, p. 372.

[4] *Ib.*, p. 638.

[5] André, *R. Lulle*, p. 117.

least but lean, has not the production of the *Nibelungenlied* (*c.* 1200) rendered it to every German for ever distinguished among the ages?[1] It was the same epoch and the same country that produced the Minnesingers (Love-singers), and that listened to the fresh, sweet strains of Walter von der Vogelweide († *c.* 1230), whose epitaph pities them that forget him, and to Wolfram of Eschenbach († *c.* 1220), of whom a contemporary poet said that "no lay mouth ever spoke better."[2]

(2) In England.

Whilst Wolfram was firing the imaginations and the hearts of the Germans with the story of Parzival's quest of the Holy Grail, Walter Map,[3] so it is said, created the English seeker after the Holy Grail, the knight Sir Lancelot, and won for himself the fame of being "one of the great novelists of the world, and one of the greatest of them."[4] Not merely in England, but in our tongue, the priest Layamon left us in his *Brut* the first work "of any magnitude in Middle English," and a work which, after an existence of seven hundred years, can be read with interest to-day.[5] And of another English book written about the same time, the *Ancren Riwle* (Anchoresses' Rule) we are assured that, "owing to its personal charm, and its complete sympathy with all that was good in contemporary literature, (it) stands apart by itself as the greatest prose work of the

[1] The date of the production of "la grande épopée des Nibelunges" cannot be fixed to a few years, but "telle que nous la possédons maintenant, est sans contredit la fin du 12e ou le commencement du 13e siècle," says Eichorn, *Tableau de la littérature du Nord au moyen âge*, p. 355. *Cf.* Scherer, *A Hist. of German Lit.*, i. 101 ff.

[2] Scherer, *l.c.*, p. 161. *Cf.* Taylor, *The Medieval Mind*, i. 588 ff. and ii. 28 ff.

[3] Born *c.* 1137, † before 1209.

[4] *Cf.* Saintsbury, *The Flourishing of Romance and the Rise of Allegory*; and the *Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, i. 270 ff.

[5] *Cf.* Craik, *Hist. of Eng. Language and Literature*, vol. i., in his section on "Second English."

time, and as one of the most interesting of the whole Middle English period."[1]

While Germany and England were producing such immortal works, we may be sure that the elegant voice of France was not silent.[2] Far from it. It was the genius of France which furnished the models for the other countries. If there were Minnesingers in Germany in the thirteenth century, it was because there had been Troubadours and Trouvères in France in the twelfth century. The first in modern literature to acclaim in high-flown language the sentiments inspired by the passion of love, the Troubadours became masters of the technique of verse composition and of lyric poetry, and consequently exercised the greatest influence not merely on the Minnesingers but on Dante and Petrarch. If we reckon William VII. of Poitiers, whose poems were produced about the year eleven hundred, as the first of the Troubadours, the twelth and thirteenth centuries may be accounted the age of the Troubadours, the age in which they grew, attained their maturity (1140 to 1250), and ignominiously perished. Before dismissing the Troubadours, we may note their beneficial influence in improving the refinements of life, and add that it is often said that the crusade against the Albigensians killed their muse. Though the sweet and tender muse of lyric poetry cannot raise her voice amid the din of arms, it is to be observed that the golden age of the Troubadours was

(3) In France.

[1] *Camb. H. of E. Lit.*, i. 230. *Cf.* especially Eckenstein, *Woman under Monasticism*, p. 311 ff., where there is set forth a full account of this work, which "gives a direct insight into the moral beauties of the religious attitude, and enables us to form some idea of the high degree of culture and refinement which the thirteenth-century mystic attained."

[2] "The period called the thirteenth century, which begins with the reign of Philip Augustus (1180), is one of the most noteworthy epochs in the whole of French literature."—Tilley, *The Literature of the French Renaissance*, p. 46, Cambridge, 1885.

over when the Albigensian wars began, and that, in the words of one of their most recent historians, the Albigensian crusades would not, perchance, "have been able to kill the poetry of the Troubadours if it had not at a very early period become too conventional" (and, we may add, too pagan [1]). "Artificial conventionality may impart the semblance of life, but it cannot give life itself." [2]

It was not merely the verses of the Troubadours that caused the Florentine Brunetto Latini, Dante's master, to say that "French is the most delightful of all languages and the best known." [3] To the formation of this opinion contributed very largely the famous verses which made up the *Roman de la Rose*, the first part of which was written by Guillaume de Lorris about the year 1237, and the second by Jean Clopinel of Meun about 1277. But it is

[1] The Troubadours "seized every opportunity to court the distractions and follies of intrigue," says Rowbotham, *Troubadours and Courts of Love*, p. 226. In their extravagance they exalted love above life, honour, virtue, or religion. *Ib.*, p. 227. This same author neatly demonstrates how the practices of the Troubadours found support in the theories of the Albigensians, and how consequently the great mass of the Troubadours vigorously supported the Albigensian propaganda. "One may very easily see to what practical results in life at large such views (viz., those of the Albigensians, with their *two eternal* principles of good and evil) on religion and morals unavoidably lead, and how nearly and unfortunately akin they were in their general effects upon practice to the life of love and pleasure which was being led by the Troubadours and their lady-loves, as yet unconscious that the courts of love and the encouragements of amorous laxity were directly in accordance with the precepts of religion," *i.e.*, of course, of the Albigensian religion. *Ib.*, p. 295. The pertinence of these remarks is not affected even if it be maintained with some that there never were "Courts of Love" at all.

[2] J. Anglade, *Les Troubadours*, p. 301, Paris, 1908.

[3] *Cf.* his *Li Livres dou Tresor*, written *c.* 1265. The second part of his assertion is supported by the authority of another Italian, M. da Canale, "lengue françeise cort parmi le monde." Ed. Galvani, p. 268.

only the first part which "is one of the most agreeable works of the Middle Ages";[1] and the "Clopyngels *clean* Rose," of one of our old poets, only applies to the work of de Lorris. "In touching the Rose, Clopinel destroyed its bloom."[2]

If France helped the poetry of England and Germany, it also helped that of Flanders. Many poets during this epoch sang satirical songs under the guise of Reynard the Fox,[3] attacking the abuses of the imperial and papal curias, and showing how hard it was for a poor man to get that justice for which such Popes as Gregory VII. and Innocent III. thirsted so much. But it was the poem of a French priest, Pierre de St. Cloud, that inspired the *Reinaert* of the Flemish poet Willem (1250), that best of the "animal" epics of the Middle Ages, and the foundation of Goethe's *Reinecke Fuchs* in the nineteenth century. (4) In Flanders.

Their incessant struggles against the Moors and their victories over them, which have made the twelfth century so memorable to the Spaniards, kept ever before their eyes the warlike doings of "My Cid" (Myo Cid) in the preceding century. Most probably in "the latter half of the twelfth century"[4] the *Poema de Myo Cid* saw the light, (5) Spain.

[1] Gaston Paris, *La Littérature Française au moyen âge*, p. 181, Paris, 1905.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 184. "Je suis maistre Jean de Meun
Qui par maint vers sans nule prose
Fis cy le roman de la Rose,
Et cest hostel, que cy voyez,
Pris pour acomplir mes soutrez."

Cf. Quicherat, *Jean de Meung et sa maison à Paris*, p. 48, ap. *Bib. de l'école des Chartes*, 1880.

[3] *Cf.* Mme. de Sanctis, *Reynard the Fox, an old story retold*, London, 1885; *Reynard the Fox*, ed. J. Jacobs, 1895; also ed. F. S. Ellis, London, 1894.

[4] *Ib.*, Butler Clarke, *Spanish Literature*, p. 12.

and the delighted people heard the Cid calling upon them in their own tongue:

> "Ferid los, Canalleros, por amor de caridad:
> Yo so Rruy Diaz el Cid Campeador de Biuar!"
>
> "Strike them, Cavaliers, for the love of charity!
> I am Ruy Diaz, the Cid Campeador Bivar!"

"Apart," says Butler Clarke,[1] "from its value as the earliest monument of the language which, in after times, was to spread over so large a part of the earth, the *Poema* is worthy of attention and admiration by reason of its heroic simplicity, its rapid movement, the lifelike pictures it presents of the turbulent times in which it was composed, and the free and light-hearted spirit in which it was composed. Here is chivalry indeed, without the false and sickly sentimentality with which it was corrupted in a later age."

(6) Italy.

In turning to Italy we meet with a poet acknowledged by all the world to be the equal of the greatest masters of song. The name of Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) is more than enough to make this age ever memorable to Italy and to mankind at large. Let it be enough for us to call the *Divina Commedia* the noblest of Christian poems, and to note that, if actually written in the early years of the fourteenth century, the idea of it "appears to have occurred to Dante at any early date" in his life,[2] and that it belongs in every thought and word and mood and tense to the thirteenth century. Feeling it presumptuous to remind anyone of anything connected with Dante, we are disposed to leave in his safe keeping the poetical glories of the long years which saw the greatest temporal influence of the successors of St. Peter.

[1] *Ib.*, p. 13. Let the English reader who wishes to form an adequate notion of the literature of the Cid consult Mr. Southey's *Chronicle of the Cid*, and Lockhart's *Ancient Spanish Ballads*.

[2] Gaspary, *Italian Literature*, p. 289.

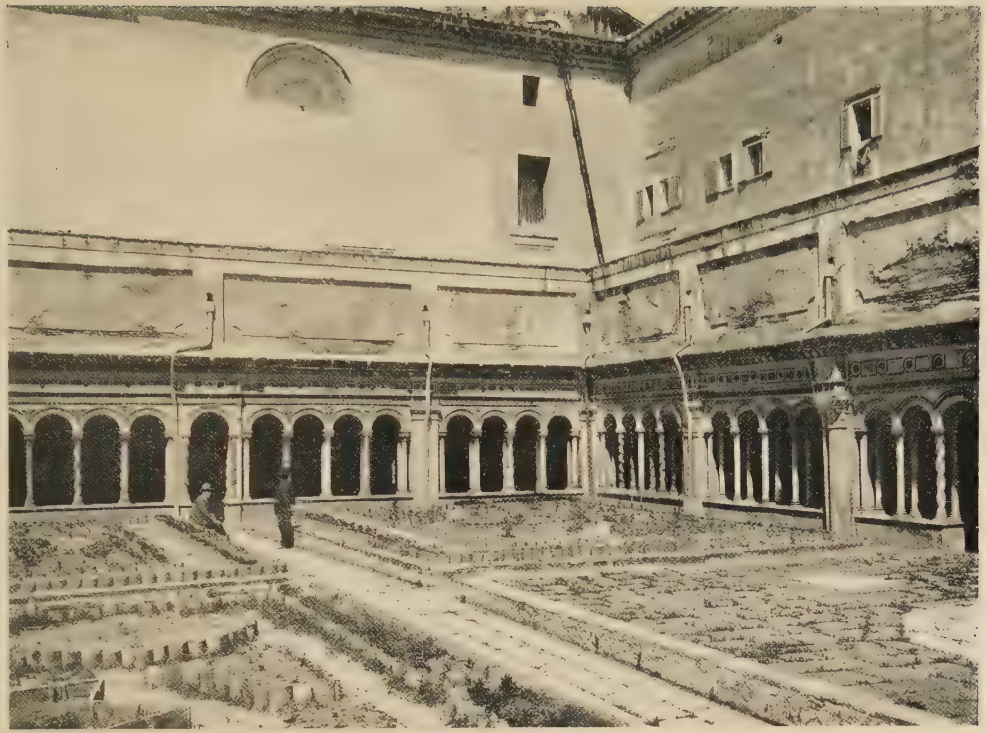

Photo Alinari

The Cloister of St. Paul's outside-the-Walls.
(Handiwork of the Cosmati.)

Other branches of literature.

But these years were fruitful in begetting other models besides those in theology and philosophy, in law and in history, and in epic, lyric, and satirical poetry.[1] With theology, law, and history it is impossible to dissociate the lives of the saints; and the drama is inextricably bound up with poetry. When we mention the *Legenda Aurea* of the Dominican James de Voraigne (Varazze, near Genoa), who died in 1298, we remind ourselves that the lives or legends of the saints were for centuries the delight of thousands, and that even by the year 1500, besides several translations, some seventy editions of it had been published;[2] and if some have contemned the *Legenda*, it is surely enough to win them praise that they inspired the *Golden Legend* of Longfellow.

It is, moreover, to this epoch, and not to the days of Sophocles and Euripides, or of Plautus and Terence, that students of the modern drama trace its origin. It was the mediæval Christian mystery play and not the classical tragedy of Greece or Rome that gave birth to the drama of to-day. Its origin is to be sought in such performances as the Spanish miracle play of *Misterio de los Reyes Magos* (Mystery of the Magian Kings), in the Nativity plays organised by St. Francis of Assisi and his followers, and in the *Ludus de Sancta Katharina* acted in England in the twelfth century.[3]

[1] *E.g.*, the *rhythm* of papal bulls was brought to perfection in this epoch. *Cf.* N. Valois, *Le rythme des bulles pontif.*, p. 261 ff.

[2] Hurter, *Nomenclator Litterar.*, iv. p. 346. In 1900 ff. Mr. F. S. Ellis, who re-edited W. Caxton's version of the *L.A.*, in seven small vols., for the Temple Classics series, assures us that he "read every page very carefully six times with unabated interest"; and that "probably no other book was more frequently reprinted between the years 1470 and 1530," vol. i. p. vii.

[3] *Cf.* Katherine Bates, *The English Religious Drama*, London, 1893; J. T. Smith, *York Mystery Plays*; Garnett and Gosse, *English Literature*, i. p. 220 ff. These authors note that, especially after the

Nor because Iceland is far away must we forget that it was in the thirteenth century that Snorri Sturleson wrote his dramatic history, and that the five greater sagas were composed. Whilst the Popes were the chief figures in feudal Europe was the golden age of Iceland's manly literature.[1]

The encyclopedias (1) of Vincent of Beauvais,

Side by side with that poetical hagiology, with that devotional drama, and with that graphic history, which for centuries instructed or delighted the West, there appeared the first of the encyclopedias. Of its author, the Dominican, Vincent of Beauvais († *c.* 1264), one who has specially studied his work wrote[2]: "What the eighteenth century could not do, was undertaken by a single man, a monk, some five centuries previously and some two centuries before the invention of printing; when literary communications were limited, when books were scarce and hard to get, when learning was the privilege of the few, and when an author in taking a great scientific

institution of the feast of Corpus Christi (1264), the trade guilds took up the production of miracle plays, "and in many cities England had at length a national drama, rude indeed, but appreciated by the people, patronised by the clergy, not wholly slighted by the aristocracy, and preface and presage of the drama to come." *Ib.*, p. 223.

[1] *Cf. supra*, vol. vi. p. 370 ff.

[2] E. Boutaric, *Vincent de Beauvais*, ap. *Rev. des quest. hist.*, t. 17 (1875), p. 11. *Cf.* Taylor, *The Medieval Mind*, ii. 82 ff., 315 ff. See also Didron, *Christian Iconography* (i. 10 ff.), for the excellence of the classification adopted by Vincent, and its influence on art. We may note here that early in the thirteenth century "French prose romance begins," and that "the most popular story-book of the Middle Ages," the *Gesta Romanorum*, was probably composed in England towards the close of the same century. And with the *Gesta* we may connect the tales of *Conde Lucanor*, written in the same century by "the second great Spanish prose-writer, the Infante Don Juan Manuel." To such pretty stories as Aucassin and Nicolette (of which English readers will find a full account in Mr. Allen's *Impressions of Provence*, p. 40 ff., London, 1910) the origin of our modern novel is justly ascribed. *A. and N.* has been translated by M. S. Henry, and versified by E. W. Thomson, *c.* 1904.

enterprise in hand could not be buoyed up by the hope of having many readers. And what he undertook, he had the glory of accomplishing. Glory did I say? I have made a mistake; for no glory awaited the author of one of the most gigantic enterprises which a man has ever conceived. There remain but a book which no one now reads, and a name which merely awakens a vague memory of learning and patience. The book is the *Speculum Majus*, the name that of Vincent of Beauvais."

(2) of Latini.

"In the thirteenth century," writes Gaspary,[1] "a general endeavour begins to make itself felt to diffuse knowledge, and to make it accessible to all alike, and not merely to scholars." One of those who thus contributed to spread knowledge was Brunetto Latini, who made "one of the earliest attempts at an encyclopedia in the vulgar tongue." His *Trésor*, written in French, proved a most popular work.

The hymns of the Church.

But the literature of the age we are so fondly considering has been raised to its almost unapproachable height not by secular verse, nor by golden legends, nor yet by pretty or ingenious tales, but by its Latin hymns. No lover of piety, no admirer of poetry can ever forget that it was in this age that Thomas of Celano produced his *Dies Iræ*, those solemn lines, the majestic beat of which peals through the soul like the notes of a powerful organ or the full tones of some great sweet-sounding bell. Do we not owe *Jerusalem the Golden* to Bernard of Morlaix? and is not the *Veni Sancte Spiritus* assigned to Innocent III.? Who has ever combined learning and piety, theology and poetry so wonderfully as St. Thomas Aquinas in his *Pange Lingua*? What son will ever express more tenderly the sorrows of his mother than did Jacopone da Todi those of our Lady in his pathetic *Stabat*

[1] *Italian Literature*, p. 175 ff.

Mater?[1] Nor must we fail to recall the fact that music had so far developed by the thirteenth century, that it was capable of composing the melody to which is sung on Holy Saturday the *Exultet jam angelica*—a melody which, as an expression of holy joy, has never been surpassed.[2]

The learning of the Middle Ages was neither sterile nor degrading. Mental illumination resulted in the outpouring of the soul to its Creator. It directed the aspirations of men upwards to their infinite Maker. In the eyes of the Middle Ages man was indeed a little less than the angels, and not a little better than an anthropoid ape. Hence in the thirteenth century there was instituted the pre-eminently beautiful feast of *Corpus Christi*, proclaiming that the men of the age looked forward to the closest union with God as their ultimate end. And if, in the gorgeous liturgical services which they carried out in the sublime buildings they erected to be houses of God, they were especially fond of stately processions, it was to typify their journey towards heaven to join the everlasting company of His sons.[3]

[1] For a full appreciation of these glorious hymns see the chapter on "The Ecclesiastical Latin Poetry of the Middle Ages," by the Rev. J. Mason Neale in the *Hist. of Roman Literature* in the series *Encyclop. Metropol.*, and Saintsbury's *The Flourishing of Romance and the Rise of Allegory*, which is the 2nd vol. of his *Periods of European Literature.*

[2] Walsh, p. 207. If the hymns assigned to them in the text were not composed by Thomas of Celano and Innocent III., they were at least the product of their age. See Salimbene, *Chron.*, p. 181 ff., ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxxii., on the skill in music of some of the early Friars Minor. *Cf.* also p. 298. Adam de la Hale produced the first opera in 1285.

[3] On the remarkable symbolism of the Middle Ages see the *Rationale divinorum officiorum* of Durandus, bishop of Mende († 1296), a work which has been very often edited, and has been at least partially translated into English by J. M. Neale and others. The *Rationale* embraces practically all that from the days of Amalricus (9th cent.) had been written on the liturgy. According to Walsh, p. 234, the

Of the excellences of this age of papal supremacy of which we have hitherto spoken, it may be difficult for some people to judge. To form a correct opinion on the value of the work done during this period in theology, philosophy, and literature no doubt requires a considerable amount of learning and study, but there is a domain of medieval work of the supreme excellence of which it is easier for ordinary men to judge, as their eyes gazing on medieval work and modern can help them to see wherein the former has the advantage. The faith of the men of the Middle Ages did not manifest itself only in the spoken or in the written word;[1] they displayed it in the work of their hands. Art.

Of all the branches of art in which they excelled architecture was the chief. An Englishman would have to be singularly devoid of taste if, after he had seen the cathedrals of Canterbury and York, Lincoln and Durham, Peterborough and Winchester, Salisbury, Ely and Wells, and the abbeys of Tintern, Rievaulx, and Fountains, and if after he had been told that one and all of them dated from this glorious age, he should fail to recognise that it had produced models for all time. There is a say- Architecture.

Rationale was the first work from the pen of an uninspired writer to be accorded the privilege of being printed. The Editio Princeps, a real first edition of supreme value, appeared from the press of John Fust in 1459. Huysmans' *Cathedral* is really a dissertation on medieval symbolism.

[1] Hence it is that we are assured that the first characteristic of the art of this period is that it is essentially religious, and that it has sprung from an effort to honour God, and to elevate and instruct the people. "Le premier de ces caractères (of medieval art), c'est d'être essentiellement religieux et profondément honnête . . . l'art n'est pas fait pour l'art ; il est fait pour honorer Dieu et pour éclairer le peuple." Lecoy de la Marche, *Le treizième siècle artistique*, p. 410 f. The cathedrals of France sprang from the faith and piety of its clergy and people, and not, as some have idly contended, from the "communal movement."

ing in France that one would see a perfect cathedral if there were combined the nave of Amiens, the choir of Beauvais, the façade of Rheims, and the towers of Laon. Now all these elements of architectural perfection were constructed in this period. And if to them we add La Sainte Chapelle of Paris, and above all that comparatively little known but exquisitely proportioned cathedral of Bourges, it may well be asked if the hand of man will ever again erect such noble structures.[1]

What need is there then to point out that at the same time the architectural glories of England and France were being equalled, and in some particulars at least being surpassed in Italy at Pisa and Orvieto, at Assisi and Ravello,[2] and at Siena and Florence; in Sicily at Cefalù, Palermo, and Monreale; in Germany at Mainz and Cologne; in Spain at Burgos, and even in such countries as Norway and Sweden and distant Russia.[3]

Although the chief architectural glories of this epoch were the cathedrals, still fortifications like those of Carcassonne[4] show that military architecture was at a very high level; and, whilst such cities as Perugia and

[1] And perhaps the answer should be in the negative; for it may be doubted whether ages of such lively faith will again return; and it was that faith which built the cathedrals. It is that faith of which Mr. Lethaby (*Medieval Art*, p. 142) must have been speaking when he said: "The great cathedrals are more than buildings, more than art, something intangible was built into them with their stones, and burnt into their glass."

[2] This cathedral is mentioned not by reason of its special excellence, but because illustrations of it will be given in the sequel on account of its connection with the English Pope, Hadrian IV.

[3] To check our statements regarding the dates of the cathedrals, etc., mentioned, consult Perry, *Chronology of Architecture*, London, 1893. See also Lecoy de la Marche, *Le treizième siècle artistique*, Lille, 1889; Walsh, *The Thirteenth greatest of Centuries*, c. vi. p. 96 ff.

[4] The Black Gate of the city in which I am writing these lines was built in 1268.

Siena, Florence and Orvieto were building cathedrals, they were also erecting "magnificent communal palaces. The construction of the most celebrated town-halls was accomplished at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century. . . . The still existing municipal palaces of Italy, in the architecture of which Romanesque Gothic is seen at its best, are among the finest monuments of the Middle Ages."[1]

Sculpture.

But faith was then the great motive power, and it was round the cathedral and the cloister that the arts gravitated. It was in connection with them that all the fine work of the age was executed. To judge at least from such remains as the Puritans have left us, it would appear that in this country great excellence was reached even in the sculpture of the human figure;[2] while there was to be found a school of art which in the matter of foliage and other decorative detail displayed a grace of design "and beauty of execution which far surpassed the works of any age, either anterior or subsequent."[3] And precisely where England succeeded France led the way. Work of draped human figures was there produced which has remained

[1] Gregorovius, *Rome*, v., pt. ii. p. 678. *Cf.* also Leader Scott, *The Renaissance of Art in Italy*, p. 16.

[2] "In the first half of the thirteenth century, when the building art had become dexterous and supple, the sculptor's craft too grew fine and sensitive: it mastered its means of expression. For the fifty years from 1250 to 1300 the Gothic art of sculpture in England achieved representative works that were the triumphant expression of a craftsmanship new in the history of the world. The generation living about 1300 saw a golden age in the arts of West Europe; a purity of idea, a perfection of exact execution pervade the works of the sculptor." E. S. Prior, *An Account of the Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, p. 1, Cambridge, 1912.

[3] Bloxam, *The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*, i. p. 186. *Cf.* pp. 183–4. London, 1882. Even in this respect France was not behind England, as the "famous capital of the vintage of Notre-Dame at Rheims, carved about the year 1250," proves. Walsh, p. 106.

unsurpassed if not unequalled. "The study of drapery in its manifold effects has hardly ever been carried to a greater perfection than at this time—the thirteenth century—in France. . . . In fact, a great part of the originality of the French sculptor consisted in his prolific invention of artistically conceived drapery. This exemplifies the truth that draped figures stand for the highest form of sculpture and the most perfect presentation of the human individual, keeping physical beauty in due subordination to beauty of mind. It seems probable that the artist in making his preliminary sketches first drew the nude figure in the desired position, and afterwards draped it; thus explaining the admirable pose which is invariably to be seen in the sculptures of the thirteenth century."[1] The statues of Wells, Westminster, and Lincoln will compare most favourably with those of Amiens, Chartres, and Rheims, which are the best in France, and of the last named of which at least it has been said by Didron that they are: "*chefs-d'œuvre* that will bear comparison with the finest statues of antiquity."[2]

Though there is not so much fine sculpture dating from this period in Germany as in France, some very fine work was nevertheless done there, as is eloquently proclaimed by the choir and other sculptures of the Church of St. Michael at Hildesheim, and by the statuary decorations of "the *golden door* in the cathedral at Freiberg, the *chef-*

[1] A. L. Frothingham, *Sculpture in Europe in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 381 f., in the *American Journal of Archæology*. One of the best-known writers on architecture, G. E. Street, has put on record: "In Notre-Dame (Paris) I always feel more pleasure in looking at the beautiful sculptures behind the stalls of the choir than in anything else. They are a most valuable series, treated in a bold and simple manner." *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages*, p. 9, ed. 1855.

[2] Ap. Froth., p. 384. *Cf. The Sculptures of Chartres Cathedral*, by M. and E. Marriage, Cambridge, 1910.

d'œuvre of the German doorways of the thirteenth century."[1]

After France had set before the world such models in sculpture as that known as the *Beau Dieu* of Amiens, Niccola Pisano († *c.* 1275) and his school brought so much glory to Italy that it has required the persistent labour of modern students of art to restore their due share of honour in the matter of the sculpture to England, to Germany, and above all to France itself. Lord Lindsay once compared "the advent of Niccola Pisano to that of the sun at his rising," and spoke of the time when "Niccola emerged in his glory, sovereign and supreme, a fount of light, diffusing warmth and radiance over Christendom."[2] Though this praise would now be regarded as somewhat exaggerated, in view of what has been said of the priority and general superiority of sculpture in France, it will not be denied by anyone that Niccola was a genius, and that his work exercised the greatest influence over art in Italy. His famous pulpit, in the cathedral of Pisa, which he completed in 1260, is "perhaps the most elegant in Italy,"[3] and his *arca* (or shrine) of St. Dominic in the cathedral of Bologna "is a marvel of beauty, a shrine of pure and Christian feeling, which you will pilgrimise to with deeper reverence every time you revisit Bologna."[4]

[1] Lübke, *Ecclesiastical Art in Germany during the Middle Ages*, p. 244, Edinburgh, 1885.

[2] *Sketches of the History of Christian Art*, i. 357, 2nd ed.

[3] On account of its *classical* character, perhaps "tasteful" would be a more suitable word to apply to his pulpit than "elegant." Niccola seems to have designed the *arca*, but not to have worked at it. *Cf. Five Italian Shrines*, by W. G. Waters.

[4] *Ib.*, p. 363. Lord Lindsay also holds that "in painting, the schools of Giotto, of Siena and of Bologna spring immediately from the pulpits of Pisa, and Siena and the Ark of St. Dominic, in distinct streams, like the Ganges, Indus, and Brahmaputra from the central peaks of Himalaya" (p. 365).

Cosmatesque work and the mosaic picture.

Very often used as an adjunct to sculpture was that geometrical form of mosaic work which the Cosmati brought to such perfection that it has ever since been known by their name. Here we will merely repeat that the Cosmati did their best work in the thirteenth century,[1] and add that this age witnessed not only the advent of the Cosmatesque mosaic, but also the revival of the mosaic picture. Under the inspiration of Byzantine masters brought into Italy, fine work in mosaic was done both in their own country by such Italians as the Franciscan Giacomo (Mino) da Turrita, who died seemingly in the last decade of the thirteenth century, and by Andrea Tafi († 1294) and Gaddo Gaddi († 1312), the friend of Cimabue, and in other countries, our own for instance, by Peter and Odericus of Rome. In Westminster Abbey "on the marble cornice of the Confessor's shrine . . . were set letters of blue glass mosaic, three inches high, giving first the date, 1279, then the words: 'Hoc opus est factum quod Petrus duxit in actum Romanus civis,' followed by the name of King Henry III., as having ordered the work. On the mosaic pavement laid down before the altar in 1268 appears the name of the artist, Odericus of Rome."[2]

Painting.

The mention of these artists of Rome is a reminder that the new schools of painting[3] in central Italy which were to acquire such enduring fame were indebted for their inspiration to the school of Rome. One of the assured results of modern art criticism based upon recent discoveries of

[1] *Cf. supra*, vol. vi. p. 12. They are credited with building the glorious cloisters of St. Paul outside-the-walls (1193–1241), while the kindred school of the Vassalletti or Bassalletti seem to have erected the even more glorious cloisters of the Lateran.

[2] Lethaby, *Medieval Art*, p. 259 f. On the work of Mino, etc., see Lindsay, *l.c.*, i. p. 328 ff., who reckons G. Gaddi as "the last of the great Italian mosaicists."

[3] Even the art of painting in oils was practised in the thirteenth century. *Cf.* De la Marche, *Le treizième siècle artistique*, p. 221 ff.

The Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.
Details of the Portico built by Hadrian IV. in 1158.

(*From a photo. By kind permission of Mr. J. Parker.*)

medieval frescoes is that "the old Roman school had preserved its existence throughout the early Middle Ages," and that "its increased vitality during the thirteenth century," due to a return to the study of antiquity, was the main factor in the education of Giotto, the father of modern painting. It was to Pietro Cavallini and the Cosmati of Rome, and to Niccola of Pisa, that Giotto owed his inspiration,[1] and the frescoes he painted in the Church of St. Francis at Assisi will for ever make his name a landmark in the history of painting.

Illumination.

If it is necessary to seek in the thirteenth century the source of modern painting in general, the particular form of that art known as illumination reached in the same "wonderful century" a very high standard of perfection. As far as the art of illumination is concerned, this century has been hailed as its "most interesting and original" epoch, and it has been said that many of the best works of this century display "an astonishing variety and profusion of invention."[2]

[1] *Cf.* Lethaby, *l.c.*, pp. 278-9, 285; Sir Martin Conway, *Early Tuscan Art*, p. 92 ff.; and especially Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting in Italy*, i. pp. 82 and 182, ed. 1903. We have said nothing particular in the text of Cimabue, because "of the artistic achievement of Cimabue, Giotto's supposed master, we know nothing certainly." C. and C., p. 82. *Cf.* p. 177. "The most important of the pre-Giottesque works at Assisi are . . . by *Roman* masters." *Ib.*, p. 178. See also p. 181, where it is further asserted that "it cannot be proved that a single picture attributed to Cimabue was painted by him," and p. 187 ff.

[2] H. N. Humphreys, *The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*, London, 1888, ap. Walsh, p. 163. "A new and more florid style of initial letters arose about the eleventh century, formed principally of interlacing branches, sometimes terminating in the heads of animals, and at other times interwoven with animals, the spaces between the ornaments generally filled alternately with light blue and delicate green. This style continued to acquire richness and distinctness until it resolved itself in the twelfth century into . . . perhaps the noblest style of illumination ever evolved during the whole thirteen centuries during

Stained glass.

Even from examples in our own country, in York and Lincoln, the superiority of thirteenth-century stained glass to that of the stained glass of our own day can easily be seen. If that is true of English stained glass, it is still truer of French; for, according to the earliest art critic of the Middle Ages, the artist monk Theophilus, who seems to have written his *Diversarum Artium Schedula* about the end of the twelfth century, French stained glass was the most famous.[1] A large amount of still existing stained glass of the period in the great cathedrals of Bourges and Chartres bears eloquent witness that the worthy monk was not mistaken in his judgment. "The coloured glass paintings of the Middle Ages till the fifteenth century," says Lübke,[2] "retain a *tapestry* character, and, by the grouping of colours, choice of ornaments, and happy arrangement, produce a beauty and harmony which prove them to be *chefs-d'œuvre* of Middle Age polychromy. . . . The colours are of a depth and translucency not again attainable in later epochs."

Metal-work.

But, besides stone and glass, various metals were used in connection with the cathedral, such as iron and brass, gold and silver. Occasionally above and at the back of altars there was to be found in this as well as in the preceding epoch elaborate metal-work exhibiting embossed designs

which the art was practised. . . . The fine style of the twelfth century flourished all over Western Europe . . . and exhibited itself not only in the art of illumination, but also in sculpture, stained glass, and in gold and silver work, in each modified by the nature of the material." Humphreys, *ib.*, p. 4, ed. London, 1849. *Cf.* De la Marche, *l.c.*, ch. ix. *Cf.* Salimbene, *Chron.*, p. 181, for the skill of some of the early Friars Minor in the art of illumination. Speaking of Brother Henry of Pisa, he says: "Item sciebat scribere, *miniare* quod aliqui alluminare dicunt, pro eo quod ex minio (scarlet) liber illuminatur." *Cf.* pp. 108, 136.

[1] Lethaby, *l.c.*, p. 181.

[2] *L.c.*, pp. 233-4. The stained glass of the Sainte Chapelle proves that the age of St. Louis was the golden age for that as for most other branches of medieval art. De la Marche, *l.c.*, p. 242.

and covered with enamels. "One of the noblest works of this kind," perhaps "the most beautiful enamel-work of the Middle Ages," is the altar-panel in the Church of Klosterneuburg.[1] It was completed in 1181 by Master Nicholaus von Verdun. Indeed, of whatever form of metal-work there may be question, whether it be of chalices or of reliquaries in the precious metals,[2] or of censers, candlesticks, *coronæ*, in some inferior metal,[3] or again of sepulchral brasses,[4] it is the same story. Such work was done in every variety of metal-work then required for cathedral or cloister or castle, that succeeding ages must copy them if they would produce anything as fine.

The shrine.

The arts of which we have just spoken were all concentrated round the shrines of the saints, and it is justly asserted that "the greatest zeal for their fabrication, and for the translation of the remains of the saints to the place of greatest honour in their churches, was displayed during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and it was then that the shrine assumed its most imposing form and proportion."[5] The shrine "was by far the most conspicuous object in the church," and called forth the choicest art not only of the goldsmith and the enameller, but also of the architect and the carver.

Gold coinage.

Lastly, of no small importance in the history of metallic art, even if of greater importance in the history of commerce, was the fact of the reintroduction of a gold coinage into western Europe with the *Augustale* of Frederick II., the Ecu d'or and Agnel of St. Louis IX., and the Fiorino

[1] Lübke, *l.c.*, p. 126.

[2] "Le treizième siècle est la belle époque pour l'art de l'orfèvre." Lecoy de la Marche, *Le treiz. siècle art.*, p. 300.

[3] Lecoy de la Marche, *l.c.*, ch. xii.

[4] Lindsay, *l.c.*, ii. 287 n. *Cf.* J. T. Perry, *Medieval Art-work in Copper, Brass, etc.*, 1910.

[5] R. J. King, "The Great Shrines of England," p. 223, in his *Sketches and Studies*, London, 1874. *Cf.* p. 227.

d'oro (gold florin) of Florence. They were all struck about the middle of the thirteenth century, and among them the Fiorino acquired a very great vogue.[1]

The needle and the loom.

Nor were the needle and the loom behind the hammer and the anvil. The manufacture of real, that is, woven, tapestry was largely cultivated during this age, and about the close of the thirteenth century, Agnes, Abbess of Quedlinburg, and her nuns wrought a piece of tapestry representing the "marriage of Mercury and Philology," from Marcianus Capella. According to Kugler, while the style of the production is unequal, still in "parts—in spite of some Byzantine reminiscences—it rises to such perfection of form, such harmony of proportion, such grandeur, and such knowledge of drapery, that one looks on it as the manifestation of an art at its zenith."[2]

Our countrywomen had long been famous for their skill at needlework. William of Poitiers, the chaplain and biographer of William the Conqueror, found that "the women of the English nation were remarkably skilful with the needle."[3] As a consequence, Pope Innocent IV. observed that the gold embroidery work (*aurifrisia*) worn by the English prelates was quite unique, and sent to England for some wherewith to decorate his own chasubles and copes.[4] From extant remains, however, it does not appear that the world's prize piece of needlework was executed in England. It appears to be the general verdict that that distinction belongs to the well-known cope of Ascoli.[5]

[1] *Cf.* Hazlitt, *The Coinage of the European Continent*, p. 183; Wallon, *St. Louis*, pp. 504–5; and Stanley Lane Poole, *Coins and Medals*, London, 1892.

[2] Ap. Müntz, *A Short Hist. of Tapestry*, p. 88, London, 1885.

[3] *Gesta Willelmi*, p. 1267, ap. *P. L.*, t. 149. "Anglicæ nationis feminæ multum acu et auri textura . . . valent."

[4] Mat. Par., *Chron. Maj.*, an. 1246, iv. pp. 546–7, R. S. As usual, that mean monk takes occasion from this to rail at "the evident avarice of the Roman Church."

[5] Walsh, *l.c.*, pp. 14, 115, 134.

The universities.

Though the arts were at this time, for the most part, taught in the workshops and in the primitive studios of the artists, the sciences were taught in those centres of literary life which were created in this age, viz., the universities, and which like intellectual lighthouses have been the guides of learning ever since. It was during this epoch, when the temporal influence of the Popes was at its greatest height, that a very large number of the most prominent universities were founded. To this period may be assigned the universities of Salerno, Bologna, and Naples; of Paris, Montpellier, and Toulouse; of Oxford and Cambridge; and of Valladolid, Salamanca, and Lisbon-Coimbra;[1] and in the cases where these centres of culture had not been directly founded by a papal bull, but had sprung, so to speak, from the very soil itself, they afterwards secured from the Popes bulls to give their professors the right of being able to teach anywhere ("jus ubique docendi"), as did for instance even "the old archetypal universities themselves, Bologna and Paris, from Nicholas IV."[2] The recorded numbers of students attending these universities during the thirteenth century seem almost incredible; but they were merely one more sign of that mental activity of which we have found so much evidence.

Social and philanthropic works of this age.

But the stupendous energy of the men of these heroic days, inspired as it was by faith, was not content with founding places in which God and His works might be studied. They devoted themselves to His service with an ardour which was nothing short of fiery. It drove them to the Crusades in hundreds of thousands, and it drove them to unite the military spirit with piety in the great fighting Orders, in those of the Templars and the Hospitallers, of the Knights of the Sword, of the Knights of Calatrava,

[1] Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe*, i. p. xxviii.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 12.

and many other similar Orders in Germany, Spain, and Portugal.

It impelled men to renounce all they possessed, and, as humble followers of SS. Francis and Dominic, as Friars Minor and Friars Preachers, and as poor followers of a poor Master, to labour for the salvation of souls, especially for those of the poor.[1] It impelled, moreover, these earnest friars, these children of the new Orders, in their zeal for souls, not merely to leave their own homes or their own country, but, with their lives in their hands, to go into heathen lands. This fertile century witnessed a great outburst of missionary zeal on the part of the friars whose travels in the East incidentally did so much towards the increase of geographical knowledge by the records of their journeys which they committed to writing.[2]

Love for Jesus Christ, who had been treated as the "outcast of men," led people not merely to imitate the example of Innocent III., and to found thousands of city hospitals,[3] but it induced crowds of noble men and women to devote themselves to those most dreaded of outcasts, the lepers.[4] The poor, the afflicted, and the helpless generally were regarded as the brethren of Jesus Christ whom it was an honour to serve, whose feet were washed by Popes and emperors, and whose sores were tended by the delicate

[1] *Cf.* the charming paper of the Rev. A. Jessopp, *The Coming of the Friars*, London, 1889.

[2] The friars were followed by such laymen as Marco Polo; and hence this age is known as that of the great travellers. *Cf.* De Backer, *L'extrême Orient*, p. 3.

[3] Though hospital founding had been freely practised in the early days of the Gregorian Renaissance (*cf. supra*, vol. vi. p. 7, and x. p. 306), Virchow attributes the foundation of city hospitals to the foundation of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost in Rome by Innocent III. *Cf.* Walsh, *The Popes and Science*, pp. 10 f., 249 ff., 256.

[4] *Cf.* Eckenstein, *Woman under Monasticism*, pp. 289, 291. Hence, by the end of the thirteenth century, *lepers* were a rapidly disappearing class. *Ib.*, p. 287.

hands of queens. They were not looked upon as paupers to be *sterilised* out of existence; they were reminders of Christ, and of Him crucified.

Wherever there was work to be done for the poor and helpless, men were ready for the love of God to do it. It was found, for instance, that rivers, as a serious obstacle to communication, in many cases affected the poor very considerably and very detrimentally. Accordingly, in the second half of the twelfth century, there sprang up the Order of the Friars Pontiff or Bridge Friars. They maintained hospices at the fords of the chief rivers, and devoted themselves, with the approval of the Holy See,[1] to the building of bridges.

Trade and commerce.

This prodigious activity in all the arts, the gigantic enterprises of the Crusades, and the increasing centralisation of Church government, begot, and fostered, with their own advance, a great development of trade and commerce. The despatch of business was greatly facilitated, as we have already noted, by the reintroduction of a gold coinage; and the extensive monetary transactions of the Holy See gave a great impetus to the spread during this period of the system of banking which proved so potent a means for facilitating international trade.[2]

[1] Clement III. in 1189 approved of the brotherhood. *Cf.* Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life*, p. 38 f.; the pretty legend of Bénézet, ap. *Rev. des quest. hist.*, t. xxiii. (1878), p. 555 ff., and Grégoire, *Recherches historiques sur les congrégations hospitalières des frères pontifes*, Paris, 1818.

[2] Though not too carefully done, the *Studi e documenti di storia del diritto* of G. Arras, Firenze, 1901, furnishes a series of notes on the relations of Italian bankers to the Holy See in the thirteenth century. Jordan's brief paper, *Le Saint-Siège et les Banquiers Italiens*, Bruxelles, 1895, deals with the relations towards them of Clement IV. in particular. *Cf.* also G. Schneider, *Die finanziellen Beziehungen der florentinischen Bankiers zur Kirche von* 1285 *bis* 1304, Leipzig, 1899; *English Hist. Rev.*, July 1900, p. 575; and E. A. Bond, *The Italian Moneylenders of the Middle Ages*, ap. *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii. (1840).

During this unifying century also the firm establishment of guilds secured at once the best means of promoting the progress of the arts and crafts, and of business and professional pursuits, and of protecting the different working members of the community from the oppressive hands of the powerful. "It was in the thirteenth century," so modern historians tell us,[1] "that our municipal institutions became consolidated, and trade guilds attained to full possession of the privileges which secured the *craftsmen* against the tyranny of the burgher class."[2]

What we may call an international guild also came into existence about the middle of the thirteenth century. This was the famous *Hanseatic League*. It took its name from the old German word *Hansa*, a union or confederacy, was a German creation, and consisted of the union of some eighty German cities situated on the sea or having communication with it by water. Its object was the protection of trade against pirates and robbers. The city of Lubeck was the head of the League, which had

[1] Gardiner and Mullinger, *Introduction to English Hist.*, p. 277.

[2] "The early English gild was an institution of local self-help which, before poor-laws were invented, took the place, in old times, of the modern friendly or benefit society; but with a higher aim, while it joined all classes together in a care for the needy and for objects of common welfare, it did not neglect the forms and the practice of religion, justice, and morality." Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds*, p. xiv, London, 1870. The guilds may be divided into religious (social) guilds and craft guilds, which later sprang from the town-guilds or guild merchants. The power of the guilds in the free cities of Italy may be estimated from the fact that the names of the priors of the trades or guilds often figure among the signatures affixed to treaties. They appear, for instance, for the first time in a treaty of 1204 between Florence and Siena. E. Staley, *The Guilds of Florence*, p. 41, London, 1906. *Cf.* Ditchfield, *The City Companies of London*, London, 1904. The thirteenth century (1255) was also a turning-point in the history of the Roman guilds. Thenceforth they had written constitutions. *Cf.* E. Rodocanachi, *Les Corporations Ouvrières à Rome*, Paris, 1894.

four chief factories in London, Bruges, Bergen, and Novogorod, and which won for itself considerable trading privileges in the countries where these factories were situated, and which entered into commercial treaties with many towns in France, Spain, Italy, and Sicily. The influence of the League soon became very great, and was for many generations of the highest benefit to the cause of civilisation.[1] It had to a large extent owed its existence and certainly its great power to the weakness engendered in the central Government in Germany during the thirteenth century by its struggle with the Papacy. But if the League was indebted to the weakness of the supreme authority for its influence, it certainly in no small degree supplied a remedy for the deficiencies of that authority.

The men and women of this age.

Finally, if this age, the glories of which we have now enumerated at some little length, was great in the deeds which were done in it, and in the works of mind and hand and heart which were produced in it, it was great in the men who made it, and who were in turn fashioned by it. At the head of Christendom, at the head of the European Commonwealth, as well on its spiritual as on its temporal side, were magnificent figures. Alexander III. and Barbarossa, Innocent III., Gregory IX., Innocent IV., and Frederick II., Rudolf of Hapsburg,[2] and Boniface VIII.[3]

[1] *Cf.* C. Walford, *An Outline Hist. of the Hanseatic League*, ap. *Transacts. of the English Hist. Soc.*, vol. ix., 1881; and Miss H. Zimmern, *The Hansa Towns*, in *The Story of the Nations* Series.

[2] Strictly speaking, he was not an emperor, as he was never crowned.

[3] Gregorovius, *Rome*, v., pt. ii. p. 609, notes that "of the eighteen Popes who reigned between 1198 and 1303, the greater number were learned men, and no less educated were the cardinals. . . . Innocent III., Honorius III., Gregory IX., Innocent IV., Urban IV., John XXI., Nicholas IV., and Boniface VIII. would have been prominent in any circumstances by reason of their learning."

will for ever shed lustre on the papal and imperial crowns. Richard Cœur de Lion, Edward I., the English Justinian, Philip Augustus, and St. Louis IX. in France, St. Ferdinand III. of Castile and Aragon, and Alfonso X. in Spain, Saladin and Jingis or Chingis Khan in the East are Royal names which will never cease to be household words in their countries. Will the devotees of the sciences and the arts ever forget the great names in those subjects which we have just recorded? And if lovers of literature will never forget Dante, neither men nor women will ever cease to think of Queen Blanche of Castile, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, and St. Clare, "the little flower" of St. Francis, as she called herself.

The Popes in this age.

In the midst of all this splendid activity in the realms of mind and matter, at the apex of this glorious society of the Commonwealth of Europe in which so much was being done for the glory of God and the everlasting benefit of mankind, were the Popes of Rome. Men of character and of virtue, men of learning, and, if you will, men full of a fine ambition to guide the souls of men, whether by temporal or spiritual means, to a higher life, the Popes of this age acted everywhere, and on everything. No place, however remote, escaped the beneficent influence of their letters or of their legates. In great affairs and in small was their action felt, ever encouraging the good, the beautiful, and the true, and ever combating ignorance and vice. To them did all men turn in their distress. To them for consolation turned broken-hearted fathers, like our own Henry II. when flouted by his rebellious sons; to them for support and help turned outraged women whose rights and affections had been cruelly trampled upon, like the Danish queen of Philip Augustus, who could but cry out, "Mala Francia, Roma, Roma!" They were the refuge of the afflicted of every class, whether cleric or lay. They were the judges of last

Two deacons, Wells Cathedral.
From Prior and Gardner's *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*.
By kind permission of The University Press, Cambridge.

resort, the final arbiters of all cases whether ecclesiastical or civil. Their supreme spiritual influence was founded on the universal belief among Christians that they were the successors of St. Peter, and heirs of the power of Christ, and their unique temporal position was the natural outcome of the feudal system. It is true that they themselves ever preached the doctrine of the "two swords," the doctrine of the two independent powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil, each supreme in his own domain. But, after all, the feudal system required that every man should acknowledge a superior. And to every Christian it was obvious that the Vicar of Christ was the head of the body Christian of Christendom, and, though his sphere of action was primarily that of the soul, it was necessary, from the very fact that the soul is superior to the body, that he should be recognised as the highest authority in the Christian Commonwealth. The supreme civil power could not be exercised except by the one whom he had crowned. If, then, it were ever necessary to judge the highest civil authority or its doings, the Pope of Rome was evidently the one who had a right to do it. He assuredly had no superior; but the same could not be said of anyone else. To him then must the final decision of every dispute be referred. Nor can there be any doubt that, in the main, the Popes showed themselves worthy to be the Lord Chief Justices of Christendom, else never would that unique position have been so universally accorded to them. They were, indeed, as Innocent III. so truly called them—"the very foundation of Christendom—*fundamentum totius Christianitatis.*"

The other side of the picture.

But, unfortunately, though the *Rose* which blossomed during this productive period was, in the main, *clean*, nay, even though it was, from many points of view, even golden, it was far from perfect. If the lights were high, the

shadows were deep. There were many very ugly spots on the beautiful face of this generation, and the ages of faith were disfigured by heresy and unbelief,[1] and the last years of the thirteenth century were big with the signs of decadence. Indeed, were we to interpret too literally the words of some [2] of the great men of this epoch, those, for instance, of our countrymen Adam Marsh,[3] or of his friend, the model bishop Grosseteste, we might imagine that there was no Rose at all, but only thorns and briars. Writing to his clergy in the very middle of the thirteenth century, this excellent prelate said: "Touched with grief of heart within, and tormented even to the marrow of our spirit, we plainly perceive that evils so manifold, so grave, so hideous, so foul, so atrocious, so criminal, so wicked, so sacrilegious are so generally to be found in the people redeemed by the Blood of Christ, owing to the neglect of rulers, to the carelessness of pastors, and, what alas! is more matter for weeping than for writing, owing to the bad example and scandal that is everywhere rampant, and shamelessly spreading on all sides. Hence with despair we are altogether undone, and we have

[1] *Cf.* Vaughan, *Life of St. Thos. of Aquin*, i. pp. 43–4, for a sketch of the infidelity rampant in the court of the emperor Frederick II. At Paris in the early part of the thirteenth century, Amalric of Bena, and David of Dinant, misled by the false Arabic translations of Aristotle, were condemned for teaching Pantheism. *Cf.* Denifle, *Chartular. Univer. Par.*, i. 70–72, 79, 81 f.

[2] Jacques de Vitry († 1240) draws a very gloomy picture of the morals of Europe in the second book of his *Historia Hierosolymitana*: "The virtues were in exile: vice was everywhere rampant," ii. c. 1. "The wickedness, the weakness, and the ignorance of the prelates were the causes of all the evils," ii. c. 4. In chapter six there is a very graphic picture of vice in Paris, especially among the students. *Cf.* the *Hierapigra* of Giles of Corbeil († *c.* 1224), large extracts from which are published in Viellard's biography, *Gilles de Corbeil.*

[3] *Cf.* his epp., ap. *Mon. Francisc.*, R. S. In ep. 43, p. 147, he thinks the day of judgment may be at hand, "propter tam execratissimam tam flagitiorum quam facinorum immanitatem, his diebus sceleratissimis . . . inundantem."

absolutely no idea where to begin to apply a remedy to these evils." [1]

Of course there were many great scandals in this age as in every other. "It must needs be that scandals come," and it was Grosseteste's business as a bishop to look for them in order to root them out. Had there been no widespread evils, there would not have been any necessity for great councils at Rome to strive to effect great reforms. Had there been no gross ignorance,[2] vice, and misery there would have been no need of the learned doctors of the Church to write in its defence, no need of the Franciscans and Dominicans and the other Orders to combat evil of soul and body.

But not only were there diseased members of the flock; many of the shepherds were tainted likewise.[3]

[1] Ep. 130, p. 440 of *Rob. Grosseteste epistolæ*, R. S. A modern author, Mr. G. G. Coulton, *From St. Francis to Dante*, has gone into the highways and byways to rake together all the dirt of this epoch. He appears to forget there are police-court cases in plenty, and coarseness in abundance in every age. A reviewer of this book in the *Saturday Review*, Nov. 24, 1906, compares its author to a cock crying out on the dunghill it has scratched together: "Behold how the whole land stinketh! Not the whole land, but only the province of which Mr. Coulton has made himself master, to the lordship of which he is most heartily welcome." However, there is some valuable material in the book, and it is perhaps calculated to prevent the taking of exaggerated views about the thirteenth century.

[2] Scholastic theology and philosophy had their weak sides. They tended to lose themselves in words. To this and to a tendency to hair-splitting they owed their ultimate collapse. "Men at this time," says the *classical* critic John of Salisbury, "waste their whole lives in controversy, even disputing in the public streets," etc. *Metalogicus*, ii.

[3] One cause of this was the decay of monastic schools and episcopal seminaries (where the young aspirants to the priesthood were trained under the eye of the bishop), owing to the growth of the universities, where the young student was exposed to the greatest moral dangers. Jacques of Vitry, *Hist. Hierosol.*, ii. c. 6, says that the prostitutes of Paris were so brazen-faced as almost forcibly to drag into their houses the clerics who passed in front of them; and that in the same house whilst masters were holding classes in the upper portion, prostitutes were plying their infamous trade in the lower part.

Satires against the clergy and the Pope.

There was a great deal of the pride of life among many of the prelates, and there was much ignorance, worldliness, and even vice among all ranks of the clergy. It was in this age that there began to appear ribald satires on clerics, though they were not so common then as they became afterwards in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Sometimes, as in the case of the troubadours, they were not the outcome of a just indignation against men who, while they ought to have been the salt of the earth, were an additional source of its corruption, but they were attempts to decry those who opposed their loose morals. Hence, considering he was of the immoral court of Frederick II., one is not surprised to hear the troubadour, William Figueira, crying out: "Rome, you appear to have the simplicity of the lamb, but in fact you have the rapacity of the wolf. Sprung from a viper, you are a crowned serpent, and the devil loves you as his dear friend."[1]

Golias and the Goliardi.

The chief diatribes against the Popes in this age were the work of the Goliards (Goliardi), the disciples or the *familia* of an imaginary bishop *Golias*. The poems of *Golias* have been attributed to Walter Map, a favourite of Henry II., but on a vague tradition only; and, as we shall see presently, the words of his friend, Giraldus Cambrensis show that he certainly was not their author. Mr. Wright, the editor of the poems of *Walter Map*,[2] says "there are

[1] Ap. Anglade, *Les Troubadours*, p. 194. The poems of Will. F. have been edited by E. Levy, Berlin, 1880. The sour Peire Cardenal, whilst raging against the clergy, generally leaves the see of Peter alone; but in his *Gesta* ("Car motz homes fan vers"), wherein he attacks everybody, the Pope himself is not spared—so at least says Anglade, p. 316. *Cf.* J. F. Rowbotham, *Troubadours*, p. 300 f.

[2] *The Latin Poems of Walter Map*, Camden Society, 1841. This is a companion volume to Wright's *Political Songs of England*, C.S., 1839 (from the reign of King John to that of Edward II.), and to his *Political Poems and Songs*, 2 vols., 1859, R. S. (from the accession of Edward III. to that of Richard III.).

only two pieces in the whole collection which afford *any* grounds for admitting his claim to be their author, and even those are only allowed to go under his name because traditions of comparatively old standing give them to him."[1]

The *poems* of Golias and his fraternity are excessively gross and lewd. Many of them are coarse defences of clerical marriage, and some of them are directly aimed at the Papacy. In the so-called *Apocalypse of Bishop Golias* we read:

> "Est Leo pontifex summus, qui devorat,
> Qui libras sitiens libros impignorat."[2]

Of these lines there exists an old English translation which runs thus:

> "The lyon is the Pope, hee swallows, yawnes,
> Hee thirsts for gold, and golden bookes hee pawnes."[3]

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[1] P. xx f. [2] Ap. the *Lat. Poems*, p. 7.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 284. We give one or two more specimens of the *poetical* abuse of the Popes indulged in by these nameless satirists, who were, for the most part, loose clerics.

From *Contra ambitiosos et avaros*:

> "Dic, papa, dic, pontifex, nobilis sponsæ dos,
> Cur mores redarguis et sermones fœdos?
> Cum sis pejor pessimis, hœdus inter hœdos
> Inter Socraticos notissima fossa cinædos.
>
> Roma metit omnia quadam falce manuum,
> Recipit ab omnibus, nulli reddit mutuum;
> De te Roma sonuit illud non ambiguum,
> Alterius siccas pocula, nemo tuum."

Ib., pp. 155-6. *Cf. De mundi cupiditate*, pp. 167–170.

From *De ruina Romæ*:

> "Plumbum quod hic (Rome) informatur,
> Super aurum dominatur
> Et massam argenteam;
> Æquitatis phantasia
> Sedet, teste Zacharia,
> Super bullam plumbeam."

Ib., p. 219. *Cf. De Diversis ordinibus hominium. Ib.*, p. 229. *Cf.* among the *Carmina Burana* the Gospel according, not to the evangelist

Such scurrilous invectives against Rome and the Popes called forth the energetic condemnation of distinguished contemporaries. Giraldus Cambrensis stoutly rebuts the charge of avarice brought in them against the Popes of his time. He points out that, as worthy successors of Constantine and Charlemagne were not forthcoming, the Church was robbed and reduced to poverty. Then, because "the whole world," which went to visit "the threshold of the Apostles" (*apostolorum limina*), had most naturally and properly to contribute largely to the support "of the supreme pastor and ruler of souls," charges of avarice were then brought against him. For, says the Welshman, "all the Churches throughout the world are bound in every way to minister to the spiritual Roman Empire, *i.e.*, to the chief Church of Peter, which with Christ at the helm cannot suffer shipwreck; and they must supply it, as their head, with all things which are necessary."[1] Giraldus then proceeds to denounce, as the principal author of the diatribes against Rome, "a certain parasite of our times named Golias" who, because wholly given up to gluttony, ought rather to be called Gulias.[2] This man, not wanting in

Mark, but "according to the silver Mark." The *Carmina*, a collection of students' Latin songs made probably in the thirteenth century, were called *Burana* because they were found in the famous monastery of Benediktbeuren. J. A. Symonds' *Wine, Women, and Song*, London, 1884, gives us in English verse a translation of many of these songs. The *Carmina* have been edited by Schmeller, Breslau, 1904.

[1] "Imperio Romano spirituali, scilicet ecclesiæ principali namque Petri, quæ Christo gubernante naufragium pati non potest, ecclesiæ per orbem cunctæ per omnia, tamquam capiti, ministrare necessariaque suppeditare tenentur." *Speculum ecclesiæ*, iv. c. 13 ff., p. 288, ap. *Opera*, iv. p. 287 ff., R. S.

[2] The text, as the following extract will show, repeats Golias, but the sense requires that the second proper name should be Gulias: "Item parasitus quidam, Golias nomine, nostris diebus gulositate pariter et lecacitate famosissimus, qui Golias (Gulias?) melius quia *gulæ* et crapulæ per omnia deditus dici potuit, literatus tamen affatim, sed nec bene morigeratus nec bonis disciplinis informatus, in papam et

literary ability, but destitute of character, has, continues Giraldus, in the most impertinent style "vomited forth" a number of well-known (*famosa*) songs against the Pope and the Roman Curia. After quoting for denunciation verses from some of these songs, the critic strongly condemns their author, and says that, if the Roman Curia were to inflict corporal punishment on the perpetrators of these productions, they would deserve not the gallows but the stake. Especially is he indignant at those who have the temerity to rail at "the successor of Peter, the Vicar of Christ, the supreme ruler of souls on earth."[1] It is his conviction that this habit of reviling the Popes has grown greater on account of their mildness in dealing with it.[2] Hence, he concludes, are the Popes always clad in red, because they are ever on fire with divine love, and ever ready for martyrdom.[3]

curiam Romanam carmina famosa pluries et plurima, tam metrica quam ridicula, non minus impudenter quam imprudenter evomuit." *Ib.*, c. 14, p. 291 f. He then proceeds to quote for condemnation: "Roma mundi caput est sed nil capit mundum," etc., part of the "Invectio contra avaritiam," printed in full by Wright, *Political Songs*, p. 14 ff. *Cf.* p. 402.

[1] *Ib.*, p. 293.

[2] *Ib.*, c. 16, p. 294 ff.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 295. "Quoniam et caritate fervidi igneque salutiferæ dilectionis medullitus accensi, necnon et omnibus horis ad martyrium prompti." As might be expected, there are some curiously different readings between the quotations from the *Invectio* as given by Giraldus, and as found in MS. by Wright. In the former, *e.g.*, we have: "Porta quærit; bulla quærit; papa quærit; cardinalis quærit; omnis quærit;

Et si des, si quid uni deerit,
Totum mare salsum est, tota causa perit."

In Wright we read:

"Papa quærit, chartula quærit, bulla quærit,
Porta quærit, cardinalis quærit, cursor quærit,
Omnes quærunt; et si quod des uni deerit,
Totum jus falsum est, tota causa perit."

From the words of Giraldus we may conclude that these ribald attacks against the Papacy and the Roman Curia began in his time, that their chief author was a man of low character (hence certainly that his friend Walter Map had nothing to do with them), and that, as the work of anonymous scribes, they did not represent the opinions either of the responsible classes or of the masses. It must, moreover, always be borne in mind that these satirical attacks on the Papacy were but rarely aimed at the Popes themselves; they were usually, whether from motives of love or fear, only vaguely directed against *Rome*.[1]

Of course, all was not perfect at Rome. There was, perhaps, too much centralisation, and undoubtedly there was too much granting of exemptions, and, despite frequent reforms, too many of the officials of the Curia were open to bribes. But although men like St. Bernard openly censured the court of Rome for receiving too many appeals, the fact was that Rome could not well help itself. On the necessity of allowing appeals to Rome there has never been any doubt in the Church; and men will always go to that tribunal where they have the greatest hope of obtaining justice.[2] The universal appeal to Rome for

[1] Viellard, *Gilles de Corbeil*, pp. 245, 264.

[2] *Cf.* Peter de la Celle, ap. *P. L.*, t. 202, p. 405, and the words of the unfortunate Queen Ingeborg: "Cum sit omnium fides et votum, apostolorum principis successorem ecclesiam Dei disponendi potestatem in omnibus obtinere, eo securius ad eum sunt referenda quæ sunt iniquorum hominum depravata, quo frequentius ab impiis actibus eruuntur qui gratiam assequuntur et patrocinio fulciuntur." Ep. Ing., ap. *R. F. SS.*, t. xix., p. 314. *Cf.* another ep. Ing., ap. *ib.*, p. 321. One of our latest students on the Papal influences in the thirteenth century, speaking on "the Papacy as an appeal court," says with indisputable force: "This development (of appeals to Rome) over the whole area of Europe, like the parallel development of feudalism some three centuries earlier, means that it was a living growth from below, not a mechanical structure superimposed from above." A. L. Smith, *Church and State in the Middle Ages*, p. 45.

The Residence of Commander Tarleton, which is thought to occupy the site of the family seat of the Breakspears.

justice is Rome's amplest justification. The Popes may at times have been slow in passing sentence; they may at times have given a verdict more in consequence of political pressure than of evidence; and they may at times, swayed by personal considerations rather than by those of abstract justice, have issued decisions not in accordance with the right. But such verdicts were rare, and had little or no influence on the universal feeling that justice was to be had at Rome.

Much that has doubtless no little foundation in it has often been said in denunciation of the papal taxes, and especially of the methods by which they were collected. Still, in the first place, it has to be noted that "taxation, law-making, judicature, were not so much 'usurped' by Innocent III. and Gregory IX., as thrust upon them; and the same is true of the Church's supreme disciplinary power."[1] Then, it was but fair that, if Christendom wished the Papacy to be its final court of appeal, Christendom should contribute to the maintenance of that court, and, as we have already stated from Giraldus Cambrensis, subjects must give special support to their rulers in their great difficulties. Finally, the papal taxes were necessarily in the nature of extraordinary imposts, which, because also they bore hardly on a particular class, and had to be collected in an extraordinary manner, were allotted more than the ordinary share of that abuse which men shower on taxes in general.

Apart from the perennial troubles arising naturally from the weakness and wickedness of men which they always have to face, the greatest evils against which the Popes of this period had to contend were the secularising efforts of the emperors, and the demoralising tendencies of the Albigensian and kindred heresies. In the fierce fight they had to wage against these degrading influences which

[1] Smith, *Church and State*, p. 56.

they ultimately, though at great loss of temporal authority, succeeded in arresting, it may be that at times their methods of warfare were not always blameless, or that their motives were always of the purest. But the cause for which they fought was the noblest, and their success was absolutely bound up with the advance of mankind. The Popes of this vigorous epoch, Innocent II. and the Englishman Hadrian IV., Alexander III. and Innocent III., Gregory IX. and Innocent IV., Urban IV. and Boniface VIII., were similar to the age in which they lived. They were striking figures, like the great Gothic cathedrals which they saw arising in their midst.[1] And they are as worthy of our admiration as are those glorious edifices, which, whatever faults of detail a minute criticism may find in them, will ever attract the admiring attention of men who have any taste for the majestic and the beautiful. Like the mass of enlightened men in their generation, no matter how much, through human frailty, they fell short of their ideals in practice, they were great because their ideals were great. And great ideals, like the pure bright rays of the sun, deprive even what is naturally sordid of much of its hideousness. If a good cause cannot alter the nature of an evil deed, it can at least gild it.[2]

[1] "Under Gregory VII. and Innocent III. the Papacy had won for itself the respect of mankind by its moral superiority, by the fair and unimpassioned manner in which it decided disputes among the lay powers of the earth, by its rectitude of purpose, and its nobility of principle. . . . It was secure above all in the high character of the Popes, in their political ability and discretion no less than in their conscientiousness and virtue."—Kitts, *In the Days of the Councils*, p. 17, London, 1908.

[2] The recent writer just quoted (Smith, *Church, etc.*), though perhaps unduly impressed with the abuses of papal government, is "profoundly stirred to admiration of the machinery and organisation of the Papacy; its enormous superiority, not merely as a religious centre, but as the centre of law and government, its all-pervading activity and almost infinite potentialities; and, finally, the absolute and literal

Let then those who are so minded have no eye but for the weaknesses and shortcomings of noble characters! For ourselves, without endeavouring to cover up an ugly gargoyle, or cut out from view a maimed arch or a broken tower, it shall forthwith be our object to strive to set in true perspective the magnificent array presented by the Papacy of the age we have so long been contemplating.

acceptance of it by the highest minds as the veritable oracle and tribunal of God," p. 1 f. "The Papacy, taking it all in all, was the greatest potentiality for good that existed at the time (the early thirteenth century), or perhaps that has ever existed," p. 6.

Gules, a lance argent rompu rebated reversed and bent in pale.[1]

HADRIAN IV.

A.D. 1154–1159.

Sources.—The most important authority for the *Life* of Hadrian IV. is the biography of the Englishman Boso. As he tells us himself, he was appointed by his papal fellow-countryman, at the very beginning of his pontificate, his *camerarius* (treasurer), and was at the same time made cardinal-deacon of the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian. He remained "constantly and intimately attached to his benefactor till his death." Boso's connection with the papal finances appears to have led him to make the first attempt at a *Liber Censuum* or register of the different sources of the papal revenues.[2] As we have already seen, he wrote a number of papal biographies, of which the best two are his *Lives* of Hadrian and his successor Alexander III., with both of whom he acted in many of the events he describes. Though he adopted the inartistic style of the early papal biographers, even to the extent of delineating the character of Hadrian in terms used by the writers of the seventh and eighth centuries, he is generally regarded as at least accurate in what he does say. He may at times have deliberately omitted what did not tell so strongly in his patron's

[1] These arms are probably really those of Cardinal Boso, who is said to have been Hadrian's nephew, as it is not likely that Hadrian himself had arms. Frassoni, p. 16.

[2] *Cf. L. P.*, ii. p. xlii ff.

favour, but he never advanced that which was not true.[1] Boso's *Life* of Hadrian IV. may be read in the *L. P.* (ii. p. 388 ff.), or in Watterich, ii. 323 ff. He would appear to have died not long after March 1178.

Favourable to Hadrian is the Milanese contemporary narrative of the war between Milan and Frederick I., which used to be ascribed to a certain Sire Raoul or Radulph (ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi.), but is now edited as *Libellus tristicie et doloris*, and forms the first part of the *Annales Mediolanenses* in the *M. G. SS.*, xviii. Just as favourable, on the contrary, to Frederick were Otto of Frising (*De gestis Friderici I.*), and his much inferior continuator Rahewinus (Rahewin), or, much less accurately, Radevicus, one of his canons. Otto's narrative ends in 1156; that of Rahewin in 1160.

Very different in partisanship to any of the preceding writers were the lawyers of Lodi, Otto Morena and his son Acerbus. These legal sycophants[2] have in their history of their native town given us an account of Frederick's doings in Italy. Otto's portion of the *Historia Rerum Laudensium* (ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi., or *M. G. SS.*, xviii.) goes down to 1162, while that of his son, which is perhaps not quite so servile in its flattery of the emperor, reaches to the year of his death (†1167). The works of Godfrey of Viterbo (ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxii., or *R. I. SS.*, vii.), and the poem of Gunther (ap. *P. L.*, t. 212), which were written towards the close of the twelfth century, and of which mention has already been made, are of no great value.

Of the documents which originally emanated from Hadrian's chancellary, the Abbé Migne (*P. L.*, t. 188) has collected 258, to which he has added three from others to the Pope; but the

[1] "Especially for the study of the history of Rome itself, he appears to us worthy of more attention than he has hitherto received, as enabling us to correct the exaggerations of the imperial partisans too exclusively followed by some modern historians." Balzani, *Early Chroniclers of Italy*, 205.

[2] Allowing for Otto's natural attachment to the sovereign who had refounded Lodi, destroyed by the Milanese (1111), Freeman is fully justified in saying, "We soon get wearied of the *sanctissimus*, the *dulcissimus*, the *Christianissimus*, and the whole string of superlatives which Otto delights to attach to every mention of the imperial name." *Historical Essays* (first series), p. 263.

Regesta of Jaffé proves that the lost register of Hadrian contained at least more than twice that number. The motto he used in his letters was, "Oculi mei semper ad dominum."

Modern Works.—Several useful works have appeared in our language which treat of the only English Pope. There is first the small book of the Catholic, Richard Raby, *Pope Adrian IV.: an Historical Sketch*, London, 1849; and then there are by non-Catholic writers: (1) the fine illustrated quarto volume by A. H. Tarleton, *Nicholas Breakspear, Englishman and Pope*, London, 1896; and (2) the Lothian Essay, 1907, by J. D. Mackie, *Pope Adrian IV.*, Oxford and London, 1907. In the *Dublin Review*, vol. 130, 1902, p. 77 ff., is a valuable paper entitled "The English Pope," by the Very Rev. L. C. Casartelli, now bishop of Salford, which will serve to correct certain inaccuracies in Tarleton's work. The little book in St. Nicholas' series, *The Story of the English Pope*, by F. M. Steele, London, 1908, is very readable.

Much has been written on and around Hadrian's famous "bull" *Laudabiliter* concerning Ireland. In vol. 185 (1883) of the *Dublin Review* (July, p. 83 ff.), Abbot Gasquet wrote an article, "Adrian IV. and Ireland," against the authenticity of the *bull*. It was followed in the same periodical (April 1884, p. 316 ff.) by an article in support of the *bull* by the Rev. A. Sylvester Malone. Also in favour of the *bull* wrote Miss Kate Norgate, *English Historical Review*, vol. viii., 1893, p. 18 ff.; Father Thurston, *The Month*, 1906, 415 ff.; G. H. Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans*, 1169–1216, 2 vols., Oxford, 1911 (a valuable work[1]); while strongly against its authenticity are articles by J. H. Round, *The Commune of London*, p. 171 ff., Westminster, 1899; and O. J. Thatcher, *Studies concerning Adrian IV.*, Chicago, 1903. *Pope Adrian IV., a Friend of Ireland*, Dublin, 1906, is a translation from a most verbose and preposterous article in French which originally appeared in the *Analecta Juris Pontificii* against the *bull*.

Very useful for the biography of Hadrian are "Frederick the First,

[1] The same author has published an important contemporary document concerning the invasion of Ireland, viz., the French poem entitled "The Song of Dermot and the Earl." Orpen treats of the document *Laudabiliter* in vol. i. c. 9, p. 287 ff.

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King of Italy," an essay by E. A. Freeman in his *Historical Essays*, 1st series, London, 1871, p. 252 ff.; Siragusa, *Il regno di Guglielmo I. in Sicilia*, Palermo, 1885; Stubbs, Lectures VI. and VII. in his *Lectures on Medieval and Modern History*, Oxford, 1887; Mrs. J. R. Green, *Henry the Second*, London, 1903.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

Emperor of the Romans.	King of England.	Eastern Emperor.	King of France.
Frederick I., Barbarossa, 1152–1190.	Henry II., 1154–1189.	Manuel I., Comnenus, 1143–1180.	Louis VII., the Young, 1137–1180.

The traditional site of the birthplace of Hadrian IV.
(From a photograph.)

CHAPTER I.

NICHOLAS BREAKSPEAR OR BREKESPERE.

ABOUT the beginning of the twelfth century there was born into the world near the old Roman municipium of Verulamium (close to St. Albans in Hertfordshire) one who was destined to become one of the most distinguished of Rome's rulers. At that time, among the many dependencies of the famous Benedictine Abbey of St. Albans, was a village called, because it belonged to the monastery, Abbot's Langley,[1] to distinguish it from the adjoining King's Langley. Now, in the parish of Abbot's Langley, "on the outskirts of the hamlet of Bedmond," is a small building known as Breakspear's farm, which is believed to be built on the site of the house where Nicholas first saw the light.[2] The building, which stands at the foot of a gentle declivity of a hill, is now divided into two or three cottage dwellings, is of brick, and is comparatively modern, "though portions of the interior seem to be older than the outside walls." Birthplace and family of Breakspear.

It seems equally probable that the family-seat of the Breakspears, whence they derived their name, was at *Breakspears*, in the parish of Harefield, in Middlesex. The fine The family-seat of the Breakspears.

[1] North of Watford in Hertfordshire.

[2] It is Matthew Paris, the author of the first twenty-three of the *Vitæ Abbatum S. Albani*, an. 1511, i. p. 112 f., R. S., who says that Nicholas was born in some dependency of the great abbey of St. Albans, "to wit, Langley." Roger of Wendover (†1237), *Flores Hist.*, an. 1154, also says he was "born on the domains of St. Alban's abbey." The authority of Boso, "de castro St Albani," is decisive on the matter.

residence of Commander Tarleton, Hadrian's modern biographer, which now bears that name, and which occupies the site of the original house, is situated on the edge of the plateau on which stands the parish of Harefield, and is sheltered by the brow of the hill which slopes down to the fertile valley of the sedgy Colne. It stands in the midst of a gently undulating country, even now so well wooded, especially with the tall elm, as to appear a forest. Being on the border of Hertfordshire, at the point where the Colne enters Middlesex, it is within comparatively easy distance of the place where Nicholas was born.[1] Records show that a family named Brekespere or Breakspear lived here in 1317, and the records of a neighbouring house (Moor Hall) "mention the name at an earlier date still. . . . The house remained in possession of this family till 1430,"[2] and the recorded Christian names of its members include Adrian, Nicholas, and Robert.

If it be the fact that Robert Breakspear, the father of the future Pope, was a younger brother of the Breakspear family,[3] then his leaving the paternal mansion at Breakspears for Abbot's Langley, and his comparative poverty are easily accounted for. He had at least one more son besides Nicholas,[4] and if he did not survive his illustrious child, it is certain that his brother and mother did, and that after Nicholas' death the old age of his mother was spent in pain and want.[5]

[1] Tarleton, p. 10 ff.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 16. In the *Liber Rubeus de Scaccario*, a document of the year 1166 shows a certain "Gilbertus Brekespere" holding a knight's fee. I. p. 317, R. S.

[3] It is so stated by the late chronicler Stowe (†1605), *Chronicle*, p. 150.

[4] John of Salisb., *Metalogicus*, iv. 42.

[5] *Ib.* Ep. 134 (an. 1164–5), ap. *P. L.*, t. 199, p. 114. Hadrian "cujus mater apud vos algore torquetur et inedia."

Nicholas attends and is driven from the abbey of St. Albans.

Unfortunately, the historians of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have said very little about the youth of Nicholas, and what they do say is not always quite consistent. In what follows so much will be given from other early writers as can be reconciled with the statements of William of Newburgh, an author strictly contemporary with Hadrian.[1] William proposes to tell how Nicholas "was lifted, as it were, from the dust, to sit in the midst of princes, and to occupy the throne of apostolical glory." Tired at length of the world, Nicholas' father, Robert Breakspear, "a clerk[2] of slender means," with his wife's consent, became a monk of St. Albans. It was his thought that Nicholas should in due course join him in the monastery, and it is more than likely that when he entered it, he arranged that the youth should in the meantime be brought up at its expense.[3] However, when the time came for Nicholas to be accepted by the abbot, or when the youth, thinking that it had come, asked to be received as a monk, he was met with a refusal. Whether he had been lazy, or his mind was slow in developing, the worthy abbot bade him have patience, and stay at school

[1] William was born at Newburgh (Yorkshire) in 1136, †1208. His account of Nicholas is to be found in his *Historia Anglicana*, ii. 6.

[2] Ralph de Diceto, *Ymagines Hist.*, an. 1161, ed. R. S., ii. p. 305, states more definitely: "Nicholaus . . . ex patre presbitero." The Emperor Frederick also at one time talked of deposing Hadrian on the ground of his being the son of a priest, "opponens ei quod esset filius sacerdotis," says Innocent III., ap. *P. L.*, t. 216, p. 1029. But Mat. Paris, who, in his *Vitæ*, *l.c.*, pp. 124–5, calls the father "Robert de Camera," says he was a layman before he entered the monastery.

[3] Will. of N. writes: "When grown, the son, being too poor to pay for his education, frequented this monastery for his daily subsistence." *Cf.* Mat. P., *Vitæ*, *l.c.*, who says: "Wishing to bring his son, the memorable Nicholas, into the cloister as clerk and scholar, Robert besought the abbot in his behalf. . . . The abbot conceded the request on condition that Nicholas should prove worthy."

till he was better fitted for the calling to which he aspired. At the same time the young postulant had to endure the bitter taunts of his father, who upbraided him with his indolence, and drove him from the abbey.[1]

Nicholas in France.

Thus "left to himself, and urged by hard necessity to attempt something, he went to France, ingenuously ashamed," says the Yorkshire canon, "either to dig or to beg in England."

For some time the youthful scholar appears to have studied at Paris with great success (*c.* 1125); to have had as a master one Marianus, of whom in after life as Pope he spoke with great affection;[2] and to have made the acquaintance of John of Salisbury.

Nicholas in Provence.

"Succeeding but indifferently in France . . . he wandered beyond the Rhone into Provence,"[3] and from one place to another in that interesting district. He is credited by Ciacconius, who professes to be quoting Pope Gregory IX. (1227–1241),[4] with having stayed some time as a poor clerk at the Church of St. James at Melgorium in the diocese of Maguelonne, afterwards Montpellier. He also studied for a while at Arles,[5] and finally settled down at

[1] M. Paris and Will. of N., *ll.cc.*

[2] Casartelli, p. 81, citing a chronicle of the *Irish* (it should be Scotch) monks at Ratisbon. *Cf. Gesta*, p. 112 f.

[3] Will. of N., *l.c.*

[4] *Vitæ RR. PP.*, i. 555, ed. Rome, 1630. The same assertion is made by the fourteenth-century papal biographers Bernard Guido (*R. I. SS.*, iii. pt. i. p. 441) and Amalricus Augerius (ap. *ib.*, pt. ii. p. 371) in their *Lives* of Hadrian. Ciacconius died in 1601. There is a strong tradition in the Norbertine or Premonstratensian order that Nicholas was for a time a student (*alumnus*) in one of their houses. If this Church of St. James, about which nothing seems to be known, belonged to the White Canons, their tradition would be much strengthened. *Cf.* Casartelli, p. 81 ff.

[5] "Pervenit Arelate, ubi dum in scolis vacaret," etc. Boso. The sole reason alleged by that author for Nicholas' leaving England was for the purposes of study: "ut in literarum studio proficeret."

Portrait of Eugenius III., probably from an authentic original. It shows the Cistercian cowl.

(From the Bollandists.)

the monastery of St. Rufus near Avignon, which, when Pope, he himself transferred to Valence, and which belonged to a local order of canons regular. In that monastery he assumed their habit,[1] and "as he was elegant in person, pleasant in countenance, prudent in speech, and of ready obedience, he gained the favour of all . . . and for many years was the most exact observer of regular discipline."[2]

He becomes abbot of St. Rufus.

The English historian who thus describes Nicholas as he was in the cloisters of St. Rufus, then proceeds to narrate the events which terminated in his being made a cardinal: "As he was of excellent abilities, and fluent in speech, he attained by frequent and unremitted study, to great science and eloquence; hence it came to pass that, on the death of the abbot (William II., 1137), the brethren unanimously and formally elected him their superior. After he had presided over them for some time, repentant and indignant at having elected a foreigner to rule over them, they became faithless and hostile to him. Their hatred, by degrees, became so excessive that they now looked angrily at him in whom they had before been well pleased; and at length they instituted charges against him, and summoned him before the apostolical see. Eugenius, of pious memory, . . . when he heard the complaints of these rebellious children against their father, and perceived the prudence and modesty of his defence, interposed his effectual labours for the restoration of peace . . . and dismissed them in amity. Malice, however, which knows no repose, could not be long at rest, and the tempest revived with redoubled fury. The same venerable pontiff was again disturbed (1146?) . . . Piously and prudently regarding each party, he said: 'I know, my brethren,

[1] *Ib.* [2] Will. of N., *l.c.*

where the seat of Satan is; I know what excites this storm among you. Depart! choose a superior with whom you may, or rather with whom you will, be at peace, for this one shall burthen you no longer.'

Nicholas becomes cardinal-bishop of Albano.

"Wherefore, dismissing the fraternity, and retaining the abbot in the service of St. Peter, he ordained him bishop of Albano."[1] This must have been before January 30, 1150, as his signature (Ego Nicolaus Albanensis episcopus subscri.) appears in papal documents on and after that date till he went to Norway. In all probability he was the second English cardinal, as the first known one, Robert Pulleyn, sometime chancellor of the Apostolic See,[2] did not die till the year 1150. And so it came to pass, as old Fuller quaintly notes, "that he, who was refused to be Monachus Albanensis in England, became Episcopus Albanensis in Italy." He had exchanged the white robes and sash of a canon of St. Rufus for the purple and fine linen of a cardinal.

The mission to Scandinavia, 1152–4.

When in the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries the Scandinavian kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden began to take shape politically and ecclesiastically, they were not content till they had freed themselves from spiritual dependence on an archbishop of the Empire, viz., the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen. And when, in the beginning of the twelfth century, Pope Paschal placed

[1] Will. of N., *l.c.* Stevenson's translation is used here as elsewhere. Boso simply says that Nicholas went to Rome on the business of his abbey, and that when it was finished, Eugenius kept him in Rome. In the reticence of Boso, who would draw his information directly or indirectly from Hadrian himself, we have proof of the forgiving nature of the English Pope. He evidently never spoke of the unkind treatment he received either from his father in England or from his brethren in Provence; but, when he became Pope, he thought only of granting favours to his former monastic brethren. *Cf.* Jaffé, 10030, 10399, 10533, 10556, 10571.

[2] John of Hexham, *Hist.*, ad an., 1147.

them under the archbishopric of Lund, then Norway and Sweden began to besiege Rome with petitions that they might have archbishops of their own. To put an end to this state of unrest, Eugenius commissioned Cardinal Nicholas, precisely because he was an Englishman,[1] to proceed to the North to rearrange the whole Scandinavian hierarchy. As the conversion of Norway and Sweden had been largely effected by missionaries from England, Eugenius felt that Nicholas would be welcomed by them. The cardinal accordingly left Rome about March 1152, and once more returned to his native land. There is reason to believe that both his father and mother were still living when he became Pope, so that it may be presumed that he saw them both on this occasion. From England he sailed to Norway,[2] where he found the whole country in confusion.

After the murder of Harald Gille-Krist (1136), who was the servant (*gille*) of Christ in nothing but name, Norway was kept in a ferment by the adverse claims of his three sons, Sigurd of the Mouth (Mund), Inge the Humpback, and Eystein. Throwing the weight of his influence in favour of Inge, "whom he called his son," Nicholas brought about a reconciliation between the brothers, and then "moved them to let John Birgisson be consecrated archbishop of Nidaros (Drontheim), and gave him a vestment which is called a pallium, and settled moreover that the archbishop's

[1] He had the highest opinion of the superior power and fitness of the English for work of any kind, when they were not spoilt by levity. "B. Eugenius eam (the English race) ad quæcunque vellet applicari, dixit esse idoneam, et præferendam aliis, nisi levitas impediret." John of Salisbury, *Polycraticus*, vi. 19. Looking on the English of to-day, who could say of what they would not be capable, but for their frivolity!

[2] "Britannicum permensus Oceanum." Saxo Gram., *Gesta Dan.*, l. xiv. c. 139; ed. Holder. *Cf. Annal. Island. regii*, ap. *SS. Rer. Dan.*, iii. 56; ed. Langebek.

seat should be in Nidaros, in Christ's Church, where King Olaf the saint reposes. Before that time," continues the famous Icelandic historian Snorri Sturleson,[1] "there had only been common bishops in Norway. The cardinal introduced also the law that no man should go unpunished who appeared with arms in the merchant town, excepting the twelve men in attendance on the king. He improved many of the customs of the Northmen while he was in the country. There never came a foreigner to Norway whom all men respected so highly or who could govern the people so well as he did. After some time he returned to the South with many presents, and declared ever after that he was the greatest friend of the people of Norway. . . . And according to the report of the men who went to Rome (when he was Pope), he had never any business, however important, to settle with other people, but he would break it off to speak with the Northmen who desired to see him. He was not long Pope, and is now considered a saint." [2]

To the new metropolitan see of Nidaros, Nicholas subjected not merely the four bishoprics of Norway and the two of Iceland, but also the four bishops of Greenland,[3] the Faroë Islands, the Orkneys, and Sodor and Man.[4]

After he had accomplished these useful reforms as well in the Church as in the State of Norway, Nicholas went to

[1] On Snorri, see my *Lives of the Popes*, vi. 371 f.

[2] Snorri, *Heimskringla*, Saga xiv. c. 23, ed. Laing, iii. 26.

[3] The Icelandic Annals (an. 1150, ed. Storm, p. 114, etc.; ed. Christiania, 1888) mention the consecration of a bishop John for Greenland.

[4] *Cf.* the confirmatory bull of Anastasius IV. (1154) addressed to the new metropolitan, ap. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii. pt. i. p. 229 f., or *P. L.*, t. 188, p. 1081 ff., ep. 84, Anast. (November 1154), witnessed by Nicholas himself. On the mission of Nicholas, *cf.* Wilson, *Hist. of the Church and State in Norway*, pp. 134–144.

Sweden, and summoned a council at Lynköping.[1] Though Sweden at this time acknowledged the authority of King Swerker, it comprised two kindred but distinct peoples, the *Sviar* or Swedes proper and the more southerly *Gautar* or Goths. Bitterly jealous of each other, neither people would suffer the metropolitan see to be situated in the territory of its rival; and so the legate decided to leave them subject to Lund.[2] In other respects the two peoples showed themselves very docile to the legate. They not only received him with the greatest honour, and accepted the laws he laid down about the carrying of arms and the like, but, to show their love of the Apostolic See, decreed that they would every year send Peter's Pence to Rome.[3]

But the hardest task the legate had to perform was still before him. It was to soothe Eskill, the primate of Lund, for the loss of Norway. This he succeeded in doing by confirming to him the primacy over Sweden; and, in sign thereof, he left him the pallium for the archbishop whom the Goths and Swedes might at length agree to elect, and decreed that the Swedish archbishop should be subject to the primate of Lund.[4] This decision of Nicholas, which

[1] "Habitum est concilium Lyncopie a Nicola Albanensi." *Chron.*, ap. *SS. Rer. Suecicarum*, i. p. 23, ed. Fant, Upsala, 1818.

[2] Saxo Gram., *l.c.*

[3] *Cf.* ep. 86 of Anastasius IV. (ap. *P. L.*, t. 188, p. 1084 ff.) to the bishops of Sweden. The Pope wrote (November 1154) that Nicholas had assured him that the people gladly heard the word of God from his mouth, and that both clergy and people, "on account of their veneration for the apostles," paid due honour to the legate of the Apostolic See. He exhorted them to remain in their attachment to the Roman See, and in submission to the regulations (*constitutiones*) of the legate, and concluded by telling the bishops to collect the Peter's Pence they had decided to give each in his own diocese, and to send it to Rome every year. *Cf.* his ep. 87 to King Swerker, where he exhorts him: "statuta (Nicolai) de libertate ecclesiarum vestrarum, armis non portandis et aliis ad salutem populi spectantibus firmiter observetis."

[4] "Statuit quoque, ut quicunque maximi Sueonum pontifices creandi essent, pallio a curia dato per Lundensem insignerentur antistitem,

he himself confirmed as Pope,[1] was still in force in the days of Saxo Grammaticus, the historian we were quoting. Accordingly, when, some years after the departure of Nicholas (viz., in 1163), the Swedes and Goths agreed that their archbishop should have his see at Upsala, he was for a long time dependent on the Danish primate. However, about the end of the thirteenth century, the archbishops of Upsala began to obtain their palliums direct from Rome; and Bishop Nicholas Ragvald obtained a decree from the council of Basle which finally freed the Swedish archbishop from any dependence on the Danish see of Lund.[2]

Before leaving the territory of Denmark, the legate made a strenuous effort to prevent its King Sweyn from making war on Sweden. "With Roman diligence," he pointed out to him that the risks he would run were great, whereas the profit he might reap would be small. He told the king that, if he went to war, he would be like the spider which, from its very entrails, weaves a web with which it catches but miserable flies. But, adds Saxo, though Sweyn paid great honour to the cardinal's dignity whilst he was in his country, he hearkened not to his advice when he left it. He entered the territories of Swerker, who retired before him, enticed him into the wilds of Finland, and then surprised and defeated him.[3]

eamque sedem perpetuo uererentur obsequio." Saxo, *l.c.*, p. 471. *Cf.* ep. Innocent III., *Reg.*, i. 409, ap. *P. L.*, t. 214, p. 395, who confirmed the decision of Hadrian.

[1] *Cf.* also Jaffé, 10454.

[2] *Cf.* Martin, *L'église et l'état en Suède au Moyen Age*, p. 58, ap. *Rev. des quest. hist.*, January 1905, p. 58.

[3] Saxo, *l.c.*, p. 471 ff. On this *Scandinavian Mission*, see especially Mackie, ch. iii. The Annals of Hamburg (an. 1149, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 382) say that Nicholas, "quia negotium conversionis illius regionis tam a papa quam a Romano principe tenuit," assigned to Hartvig, archbishop of Hamburg, the bishoprics of Oldenburg, Mikelenburg, and Raceburg, which that prelate was striving to revive. Certain late authors, quoted by Pagi, *Brev. gest. RR. PP.*, *in vit.*

When, at length, Nicholas returned to Rome he left behind him not only a name which the Norsemen will never forget, but also, as his biographer Boso succinctly, and without much exaggeration, states, "peace for kingdoms, laws for barbarians, quiet for monasteries, order for churches, discipline for the clergy, and a people acceptable to God, doers of good works."

Had., iii. p. 40, state that Nicholas wrote not only an account of his embassy, but catechisms for the use of the Northmen, and a treatise on the Conception of our Lady. None of these works, however, is now extant.

CHAPTER II.

HADRIAN IV. TROUBLES IN ROME. DEATH OF ARNOLD OF BRESCIA. BARBAROSSA AND THE ROMAN SENATE. CORONATION OF BARBAROSSA IN ROME. THE EMPEROR RETURNS TO GERMANY.

Nicholas is elected Pope, Dec. 4, 1154.

WHEN Nicholas returned to Rome, probably in the autumn of the year 1154, he devoted himself, successfully as we have seen, to obtaining the Pope's ratification of the changes he had effected in the hierarchy of Scandinavia. Within a few months after the cardinal's return, Pope Anastasius died, and the great reputation for learning, virtue, and energy [1] which Nicholas had now obtained caused him to be unanimously elected his successor. Assembled in St. Peter's, and crying out: "Pope Hadrian has been by God elected," both the clergy and the laity combined in forcing him against his will (*invitum et renitentem*, we are assured) into the chair of St. Peter.[2]

Hadrian's feelings with regard to his office.

Consecrated on the following day (Sunday, December 5), he was soon to learn, whether he accepted the Papacy willingly or unwillingly, that he had assumed a hard yoke; and he was to live to assure his friend, John of Salisbury, with many a weary sigh, that no one was more unhappy than the Pope of Rome;[3] that, apart

[1] "Laudabilis scientia, et vitæ moribus et simul strenuus in gubernatione ecclesiæ." So the Saga of Bp. Gudmund describes him. *Cf. Gest. Epp. Island.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxix. p. 414.

[2] Boso.

[3] "Dominum Adrianum, cujus tempora felicia faciat Deus, hujus rei testem invoco, quia Romano pontifice nemo miserabilior est,

The supposed Sarcophagus of St. Helena, Mother of Constantine, afterwards used as the Tomb of Anastasius IV.
From Lanciani's *Pagan and Christian Rome.*

from anything else, the work alone which he had to do would soon kill him,[1] and that, in comparison with his present misery, all the bitterness he had ever experienced before he became Pope was sweetness itself. Thorny, he declared, was the throne of Peter, and so full of the sharpest spikes was his mantle (*mantum*) that it would lacerate the stoutest shoulders.[2] The crown and mitre (*corona et phrygium*) that are worn by the Popes seem gloriously bright, and so they are, for they are all of fire. He often told his English confidant that, from the time he had left the cloister, and had mounted the ladder which had brought him to the Papacy, he had never found that a higher position had added the smallest degree of peace and happiness to that which he had had in the lower station. "The Lord," he said, "has long since placed me between the hammer and the anvil, and now He must Himself support the burden He has placed upon me, for I cannot carry it."[3]

The unhappy Hadrian was soon to find that one of the greatest difficulties he had to face was the avarice of some of the Romans of his curia. He seemed, as honest John tells us, to be faced with one of these

conditione ejus nulla miserior." *Polycraticus*, viii. 23. Of Hadrian's special friendship for John, the latter speaks in a letter to Walter, cardinal-bishop of Albano. "Adrianus . . . me speciali quadam charitatis gratia præ ceteris conterraneis diligebat, et fortunæ meæ casus sortis suæ eventibus connumerandos arbitrabatur." Ep. 200, ap. *P. L.*, t. 199.

[1] It was quite a proverb in this age that the bishop of Rome could not be a bishop long. "Omnes sciunt . . . Romanum pontificem non posse diu pontificari." John of Salisbury, ap. 30, to Hadrian himself, ap. *P. L.*, t. 199, p. 20.

[2] *Polycrat.*, viii. 23, in the new splendid edition by Webb, Oxford, 1909.

[3] *Ib.* *Cf. ib.*, vi. 24, where he tells Hadrian that many are saying that the Roman Church, "which is the mother of all the Churches," is behaving rather like a stepmother. John, however, who is perhaps

alternatives; he must either himself become a slave of avarice, and lose his soul, or be at the mercy of the hands and tongues of the Romans. For if he had not wherewith to close their mouths and restrain their hands, he would have to harden himself to endure crime and sacrilege. Hence, in his distress, Hadrian used to say that he would rather never have left his native England, or have remained for ever hidden in the cloister of St. Rufus, than have accepted his present position. To this wish, however, he appended the proviso—except that he was afraid of opposing the will of God,—which shows that he was not a man to let vain regrets interfere with present action.[1] In every position in which Providence placed him, he worked with all the energy of which his vigorous nature was capable.

The opinion of John of Salisbury in the first half of the year 1156 as to how Hadrian had fulfilled his duties up to that time.

Hadrian's much beloved mentor, John of Salisbury, however, hinted to him one day that he was beginning to look keenly for his children's gifts in order that he might have the money necessary to keep Rome under his authority. Full of an Englishman's ideas of law and order, John would indeed have had the Pope forcibly curb the turbulent Romans and their agitator Arnold; "If you are the ruler, why do you not strike terror into your Roman subjects," he indignantly asked Hadrian, "and bring them

rather unduly severe on the failings of certain members of the Roman Church, has the grace to state that he had nowhere met clergy more honourable or more free from avarice than in Rome: "Unum tamen audacter . . . profiteor, quia nusquam honestiores clericos vidi quam in Ecclesia Romana, aut qui magis avaritiam detestentur." He notes, too, that the worth of the *majority* (*plurium*) was such that they were not inferior to Fabricius, but rather superior to him, as they had the true faith. *Ib.* He also proceeds to lay down that if the Roman Church is not always to be imitated, it must be obeyed under pain of heresy or schism. "Nam qui a doctrina vestra disentit, aut hæreticus aut schismaticus est." *Ib.*

[1] *Ib.*, viii. 23. All this was written down by John whilst Hadrian was still alive. "Dum superest, ipsum interroga, et crede experto."

back to their fealty (*ad fidem*) by repressing their rashness?"[1] But he impressed upon him the necessity of giving justice to all gratuitously. Without wishing to maintain that avarice was not a prevailing weakness even among the Romans of the curia, we must note that "the cupidity of the Roman court" was an obsession with our worthy countryman. He had had apparently to suffer from it, or, at least, he thought he had,[2] and that fact seems to have rendered him somewhat preternaturally acute in discovering traces of this vice. This Hadrian would seem to have realised; for he laughed at John's diatribe, and, bidding him always report to him what evil men said of him, proceeded to relate the fable of the belly and the members.

Although Hadrian did not pretend to have always acted rightly, his sensible answer convinced his would-be monitor that, if there was to be life and activity in the members of the Church, the Roman Church, the source of their life, must be well nourished by them. John declared himself satisfied, and professed his readiness to put his shoulder to the wheel.[3]

Hadrian not ungrateful; but favours St. Albans, etc.

Whatever other human weakness may have been possessed by Hadrian, there was in him no trace of malice or ingratitude. In the beginning of his reign he was visited by Robert of Gorham, the eighteenth abbot (1151–6) of that monastery of St. Albans where he had

[1] *Polycrat.*, vi. 24. The views of John of Salisbury as to the way in which the Romans ought to be treated were shared by the best people in Christendom at the time. The famous nun Hildegard, with whom Hadrian corresponded, like his two immediate predecessors, bade him "ut subjectis tuis frenum imponas." Ep. 3, ap. *P. L.*, t. 197, p. 154.

[2] He says (*l.c.*) a cardinal Guido Clement had blamed the Roman Church for avarice in presence of Pope Eugenius and his fellow-cardinals when John was being accused by the people of Ferentino: "quando adversus *innocentiam meam* Ferentini gratis excanduerant."

[3] *Ib.*, c. 25.

received his first serious rebuff. The abbot had come both on the king's business and on his own. Henry II., "who had recently been anointed," had despatched to Rome (October 9, 1155), on very important state affairs, an embassy of which he had made Robert the chief. Besides entrusting him with letters to the Pope on his own affairs, the king had, no doubt at Robert's request, furnished him with a letter in which he begged the Pope to interest himself not only in his affairs, but also in those of the monastery of St. Albans, seeing that it was under his royal patronage. Not content with a king's letter, the wise abbot provided himself with a large sum of money (140 marks[1]), and a number of beautiful presents.

After a journey of about seven or eight weeks, Henry's ambassadors found Hadrian at Benevento, where it is known that he had been residing from at least November 21.[2] When the king's business had been duly transacted, the abbot made as though he would return at once to England. To this, however, Hadrian would not agree, but bade the three bishops, who had accompanied the abbot, return, and give the king an account of their mission. Left now alone with the Pope, Robert offered him the gold and presents which he had brought with him. Hadrian accepted them with a pleasant smile. He would not, however, retain anything except certain mitres and, for the sake of their beautiful workmanship, some sandals which Christina, prioress of Markyate, or Mergate, had wrought for him; but, while praising the abbot for his courtesy, he said banteringly: "I refuse your presents, because when I once asked the abbot of St. Albans to give me the habit of a monk, he refused to accept me." "But," promptly

[1] The mark was equivalent to about 8 oz. of silver, or 160 silver pennies.

[2] Jaffé, *Regest.*, 10,097 (6900).

retorted the abbot, "he could not have received you; for God in His all-seeing wisdom willed it otherwise, since He had set apart your life for a higher position." After so graceful a reply, what wonder that the abbot heard from the Pope the welcome words: "Ask boldly for what you want. The bishop of Albano can refuse nothing to St. Albans." Before he preferred his petition, the worthy abbot distributed to the members of the papal court the presents he had brought for the Pope: "knowing full well that the Romans are insatiable as leeches, and ever thirsty for money." By this judicious action the abbot's "name was extolled to the skies, and he found favour with all the Romans."[1] Accordingly, when he preferred his complaints against the *ordinary* of his diocese, viz., the bishop of Lincoln, and asked for favours for St. Albans, Hadrian "granted the Church of St. Albans the well-known privilege by which we, both monks of the cloister, and those living outside the monastery, in its smaller dependencies, are made free of all episcopal authority, save only that of Rome, to all time. And further, his Holiness granted us other such special privileges, that there is no monastery in all England which can compare with St. Albans for liberty."[2] With letters for the king,

[1] *Gesta Abbat. S. Alb.*, i. 128, R. S. It must be borne in mind regarding this narrative that, though these *Gesta* of the abbots of St. Albans (790–1290) were compiled by Thomas Walsingham in the reign of Richard II., the first twenty-three *lives* are certainly the work of Matthew Paris. Hence in this narrative both the merits and defects of that writer may be noticed. He is always prepared to tell us exactly what the Pope said; always supposes the monastery of St. Albans to be the most important place in the world, and its superiors ever to be in the right; and is always hostile to the Roman curia because the Popes sometimes wanted money from St. Albans.

[2] *Ib.* "Quam in cellis seu in custodiis villarum" is the phrase used to express the abbey's dependencies. Tarleton's translations are frequently used.

and these valuable privileges for his monastery, Robert returned home rejoicing.[1]

Boso's character of Hadrian.

This story of the abbot of St. Albans has shown us one side of Hadrian's character, and the conversation of the blunt English scholar from Salisbury with an English Pope whom he loved and revered but to whom he fearlessly spoke his mind—a conversation hitherto unique in the annals of the Papacy—has shown us another side of his character. Provisionally then, at least, we may accept the description of Hadrian's character by another Englishman, even though it be couched in language used by papal biographers who wrote some four hundred years before his time. Hadrian, says Boso, was a man who was affability itself, a man who was mild and patient. Skilled in Latin and in his English tongue, he was fluent and polished in his speech; an excellent singer, and a most distinguished preacher. He was slow to yield to anger, but quick to forgive. His alms were given cheerfully and abundantly, and along the road of all the virtues both natural and supernatural he had advanced far.

Arnold of Brescia disturbs the city.

But the life of Hadrian was not to be passed in listening to the suave speeches of diplomatic abbots, or even to the straightforward criticisms of sympathetic friends, nor in receiving pretty presents from the skilled hands of English needlewomen. Serious difficulties were springing up all round him both near and far. A king, the haughty

[1] *Cf.* Will. of Newburgh, *Hist.*, ii. 6. "Not unmindful of his early instruction, and chiefly in *memory* of his father, he honoured the church of the blessed martyr Alban with donations, and distinguished it with lasting privileges." *Cf.* Jaffé, 10113 ff., 10324. These words of William prove, against Matthew Paris, that Hadrian's father was not alive at this time. Mention has already been made of Hadrian's connection with the Premonstratensians. When Pope he interested himself in their behalf, declaring: that he loved them with a special love on account of their pre-eminent piety. Ep. 200. *Cf.* epp. 202, 203, 9, 11.

Barbarossa, had already appeared in northern Italy who was determined to be the first man in Europe, and who was resolved to make his will the sole law; William I. of Sicily was in arms against the Church in south Italy, and at Hadrian's very door in Rome his rule was being disputed by Arnold of Brescia and the Senate. That demagogue realised that in the English Pope he had an antagonist of very different stamp to that of either Eugenius or Anastasius, and redoubled his efforts to keep his hold on the people and to stir them up against papal authority. Hadrian ordered him to quit the city, but the agitator paid no heed to his command, and his followers attacked the venerable Cardinal Guido of S. Pudenziana as he was going along the Via Sacra to visit the Pope in the Leonine city, and left him for dead.[1]

Rome under an interdict, 1155.

To the profound astonishment of the Romans, Hadrian at once laid the city under an interdict. They had often heard of the order for the cessation of religious worship in other places in punishment of far less crimes than they had often committed; but till this moment no Pope had ever inflicted this terrible punishment on them. The bare necessities of the spiritual life were all that were permitted. Children could be baptized and the confessions of the dying could be heard; but the churches were closed, and there could be no Mass, no communion, no confirmation, no solemnisation of marriage, no Extreme Unction.[2] For some time the Romans held out; but when Holy Week came, and there was the dismal prospect of an Easter without the joys of religion, and without the substantial profits which, but for the interdict, pilgrims would have

[1] Boso, ap. *L. P.*, p. 389.

[2] Hadrian himself lays down with regard to an interdict: "Præter baptisma parvulorum, et pœnitentias morientium omnia divina prohibeatis officia celebrari." Ep. 206, p. 1587.

brought to the city, both clergy and people brought pressure to bear on the senators. Arnold and his followers were expelled from Rome and its district, the interdict was removed, and on Maunday Thursday (March 23), amidst a great crowd of rejoicing people, Hadrian, surrounded by his cardinals, went in solemn procession from the Leonine city to the Lateran. There he celebrated the festival of Easter in the usual joyous fashion.[1]

The kingdom of the two Sicilies.

During all the time this struggle was going on in Rome, Hadrian was in the midst of political movements that involved the empires of the East and of the West, and the kingdom of the two Sicilies, not to mention smaller powers. It was around the double kingdom that the currents of policy ebbed and flowed. Its growing strength was feared not merely by the Pope, but by the Autocrator at Constantinople, and by the king of the Romans on the Rhine. Manuel I. (Comnenus) was anxious to weaken a power that had defied the Eastern Roman Empire, and Frederick I. (Barbarossa) was resolved to reduce it, as well as every other part of Italy, to complete subjection to himself. In the midst of these complications the famous Roger II. of Sicily gave up his soul to God, and his kingdom to his son William I., perhaps too easily called "the Bad" (February 1154). In his difficulties the new king turned to the Pope, and in the very beginning of Hadrian's pontificate sent him an embassy to arrange a treaty of peace. But, perhaps because he was annoyed that William, though a feudatory of the Holy See, had assumed the crown without any reference to his suzerain,[2] or perhaps because he was resolved to stand by the treaty of Constance, which

[1] Boso, *l.c.*

[2] Hence, in communicating with William by letter, Hadrian simply called him *lord*, and not king: "Papa ipsum non regem, sed Guilielmum dominum Siciliæ nominabat." Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, an. 1154, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii. 197.

Eugenius had made with Barbarossa,[1] at any rate, the Pope would not listen to William's offers.[2] On the contrary, he entered into communication with Barbarossa in the very first month of his pontificate.[3] Thereupon William, seeing that no profit was likely to arise from further negotiation, crossed over to Salerno from Sicily during Lent (1155), refused to see a legate of the Pope because the latter would not acknowledge his title of king, and instructed his lieutenant to invade the papal territories.[4] Benevento was besieged, and Ceprano, Bauco,[5] and other unfortified places in the Campagna were burnt. The excommunication of William for these hostile acts[6] did not result in the cessation of hostilities on the part of his troops; but the near approach to Rome of the soldiers of Barbarossa from the North checked for the time the advance of the Normans from the South.

Barbarossa advances on Rome.

Meanwhile, the king of the Romans had entered Italy in October 1154, to receive the imperial crown[7] and the homage of the whole peninsula. Rich in peace, as his name (Friedrich) we are told implied,[8] he had pacified Germany that he might subdue warlike Italy. Many of the cities of the North submitted to him at once. Others,

[1] *Cf.* my *Lives of the Popes*, ix. p. 172 f. [2] Romuald, *l.c.*
[3] Ep. 7. [4] Romuald, *l.c.* [5] Some two miles east of Frosinone.
[6] Boso: "Pro hiis ergo et aliis offensis . . . Adrianus . . . ipsum regem excommunicationis mucrone percussit." Bauco was burnt on June 3. *Cf. Chron. Ceccan.* (al. *Fossæ novæ*), an. 1155, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii., and *Anon. Cass.*, an. 1155, ap. *R. I. SS.*, v. 66.

[7] "Mos fuit ut Romam tendant sumantque coronam
Teutonici reges; nec habet magnum ullus eorum
Imperii nomen, donec a præsule summo
Sumpserit oblatum manibus diadema sacratis."
Gesta di Federico, v. 67 ff.

[8] "Et ideo, quod cum ex nominis sui interpretatione *pacis dives*, vocitaretur inter principes Alamannie studuit pacem potissimum reformare, ut ad expugnandas Itallicarum . . . virtutes bellicas posset efficacius insistere." Burchardi, *Ursperg. Chron.*, p. 21, ed. Pertz.

however, the chief of which was Milan, refused to acknowledge him; but, although grievous complaints against that powerful city were laid before him at a diet which he held on the plain of Roncaglia, he did not feel strong enough to attack it. When he found that it required sixty days to reduce Tortona, he realised the magnitude of the task that awaited him if he attempted to subdue all the cities which were hostile to him, and determined to get the imperial crown without further delay. Receiving the crown of Lombardy at Pavia (April 17),[1] he marched into Tuscany. There, at the hill-town of San Quirico, midway between Sienna and Acquapendente, he was met by three cardinals.

Arnold of Brescia is surrendered to the Pope, 1155.

Hadrian had been much disturbed by the stories which reached him of Frederick's rather ruthless conduct in north Italy, and on his way to meet the king, held a consultation at Sutri[2] with his cardinals and with Peter, the prefect of Rome, and the consul, Odo Frangipane (June). As a result of their deliberations the cardinals were sent forward with precise instructions as to the line of conduct they were to pursue in their dealings with the German monarch.[3] To test his intentions, he was to be asked to cause Arnold of Brescia to be restored to the hands of the papal officials. Soon after his expulsion from Rome that irrepressible agitator had been captured by Odo, the cardinal-deacon of

[1] See Frederick's own account of these transactions in his letter to Otto of Frising. He attributes the spirit of independence in north Italy to the long absence of the emperors. "Hæc (Longobardia) quia propter longam absentiam imperatorum ad insolentiam declinaverat et . . . aliquantum rebellare cœperat." *Cf.* Butler, *The Lombard Communes*, p. 99 ff.; and Testa, *The War of Frederick I. against the Communes of Lombardy*, p. 126 ff.

[2] For the *place* where the council was held, see Mackie, p. 44.

[3] Boso. "Quibus (the cardinals) et certa capitula dedit, et modum ac formam prefixit qualiter cum ipso pro Ecclesia deberent componere." *Cf.* ep. 58.

St. Nicholas, at Bricola, better known as Lo Spedaletto di S. Pellegrino, on the right bank of the Orcia, some six miles south-east of San Quirico.[1] But he had been rescued by the viscounts of Campagnatico, whose sway extended over the vale of the Orcia near San Quirico.

Arnold is put to death.

Frederick agreed to this requirement of the Pope, and, by promptly seizing one of the viscounts, caused the agitator to be delivered into the hands of the cardinals.[2] He had had no difficulty in satisfying himself that, if Arnold was animated with a sincere wish to effect reforms, he was nevertheless a dangerous agitator; that his teachings had resulted in rapine and murder, and that, despite these consequences, which no government could tolerate, he would not refrain from continuing to proclaim his doctrines. Accordingly, the prefect of Rome, whose business it was to deal with cases involving life and death, was instructed by Frederick to treat Arnold as an acknowledged criminal.[3] If, only a few generations ago, our ancestors thought it right to hang a man for stealing a sheep, it is small matter for wonder if Frederick and the Prefect of Rome decided to hang Arnold of Brescia, not merely beause he may have taught heresy, but because, by his doctrines, which he refused to keep to himself, he had

[1] The locality of Bricola has been disputed. We have here followed Duchesne, *L. P.*, ii. 390 n.; others identify it with Otricoli or with the Castrum Turris Campane near it.

[2] Boso. "Procax (forward, over-bold) Arenoldus" is the description given of Arnold in the poetical prefix to Gunther, ap. *P. L.*, t. 212, p. 329.

[3] "Captus (Arnold) principis examini reservatus est." Otto, *Gest. Frid.*, ii. 28.

> "Hic igitur regi delatus nunc Frederico,
> Judice prefecto Romano, vincitur; illum
> Namque jubet rector causam discernere notam,
> Damnaturque suo doctor pro dogmate doctus."
>
> *Gesta di Feder.*, v. 828 ff.

brought about acts of violence which had ended in the destruction of life and property. Precise details, however, of the time and place of Arnold's death are wanting, but it is certain that the misguided enthusiast was hanged, that his body was burnt, and that his ashes were cast into the Tiber lest they might be honoured by ignorant people as relics.[1]

[1] "Ad ultimum a prefecto Urbis ligno adactus ac, rogo in pulverem redacto funere, ne a furente plebe corpus ejus venerationi haberetur, in Tyberim sparsus." Otto. *Ib.*

"Et laqueo collum fato properante ligari (when he perceived)
. . . . . .
Tandem suspensus laqueo retinente pependit.
. . . . . .
Heu quid in ecclesiam mordacem vertere dentem
Suasit? ut ad tristem laqueum, miserande, venires!
. . . . . .
Arsit, et in tenuem tecum est resoluta favillam,
Ne cui reliquie superent fortasse colende."

Gesta di Feder., v. 833 ff.

Godfrey of Viterbo, v. 141: "Strangulat hunc laqueus, ignis et unda vehunt." Gerhoh of Reichersberg, who wishes that Arnold had been exiled or imprisoned instead of being put to death, speaks to the same effect (*De investigatione Antichristi*, i. 40, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, iii. 347): "Suspendio neci traditus, quin et *post mortem* incendio crematus," etc. Various annals tell the same story of the hanging of Arnold, *e.g.*, the *Ann. Einsidlenses*, an. 1153, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii. Hence the elaborate descriptions of the burning of Arnold given by some authors are purely imaginary. See also Gunther, l. iii., v. 245–349. But it is seemingly quite impossible to state whether Arnold was hanged before or after Frederick's entry into Rome. Vincent, a canon of Prague († 1174), who visited Rome, and made careful inquiries about the doings of Barbarossa there in 1155, says in his *Chron. or Annales Bœmorum* (ap. Watterich, ii. 349 f.) that, after the emperor's defeat of the Romans, the prefect Peter hanged some of the ringleaders of their rising, and it is supposed by Watterich among others that Arnold shared their fate. This account harmonises very well with a report mentioned by Gerhoh. He says that it was stated (*ut aiunt*) that the prefect secretly possessed himself of Arnold's person, and caused him to be put to death in revenge for the losses which his teaching had brought upon him at the hands of the Roman citizens (*De investig. Antichristi*, i. 40, ap.

Seeing that the prefect of the city was a papal official, it may be taken for granted that the Pope concurred with Frederick in sanctioning the execution of Arnold; but it must be noted that he was condemned not for desiring to reform the Church, nor for denouncing its corruptions, for he could not have done that more vigorously than Gerhoh of Reichersberg and Bernard of Clairvaux, but for sedition.[1] There is one way of preaching a reformation of manners, which is that of men who are at once good and sensible, and which effects its purpose; there is another which leads to violence and bloodshed, and which is the way of the fool or of the rogue. "And it is only just to point out," writes Tarleton,[2] "that, like all dreamers, Arnold was one-sided in his judgment; his enthusiasm only enabled him to see the abuse of riches in the Church, and failed to show him that she must, if she was to live, have the means necessary to carry out her mission, to keep up her dignity, to relieve her poorer members, and to maintain the worship of God; not to mention the training of her sons and the mission work of bringing fresh sheep to the fold."

A deadlock.

But, after Frederick had ordered Arnold to be given into the hands of the Pope's legates, he would not enter into further negotiations with them. He had despatched envoys to Hadrian about the same time that Hadrian had sent his cardinals to him; and he would not deal further with the papal legates until his own envoys had returned

M. G. Libell., iii. 347). In compensation for these and other losses he had sustained in his struggles against the Roman people (de damno castrorum, domorum et omnium aliarum rerum . . . quod nobis contigit occasione guerre quam habuimus cum populo Romano pro Romana ecclesia), Peter received from the Pope (August 1158) 2000 marks of silver, *i.e.*, 320,000 silver pennies. *Cf. Liber Censuum*, i. 425 f., ed. Fabre.

[1] Ep. 89, an. 1156, p. 1452, shows the continuation of the disastrous effects of Arnold's teaching in the matter of clerical insubordination.

[2] P. 85.

with the Pope's answers to his proposals. The two embassies had crossed, and Hadrian had equally refused to deal with the king's envoys until his own had brought back answers to his queries from their master. Frederick's ambassadors had experienced some difficulty in finding the Pope, who, rendered somewhat suspicious by the king's rapid advance, had left Viterbo for the still stronger position of Civita Castellana. Fortunately, when returning to their respective masters the two embassies encountered each other, and, after a brief consultation, both proceeded to the camp of Frederick near Viterbo.

Frederick's undertakings.

To their chagrin the cardinals found that their arrival had been anticipated by Octavian, the cardinal of St. Cecily's, who, advancing still further along the path of ambition,[1] had betaken himself to Frederick when he found he was not acceptable to the Pope.[2] Fortunately, however, his efforts to make mischief were frustrated by his brethren, and he had to retire covered with confusion. Then, before a full diet, an elected representative of the king swore in his name that he would not make any attempt against the person of the Pope, or his court, and that he would not allow any aggression against the Pope's honour or possessions.[3] When this had been done, arrangements were soon made for an interview between Hadrian and the king, and for the latter's receiving the imperial crown.

The "stirrup" incident.

The Pope accordingly made his way to Nepi, and the king advanced his camp to Campo Grasso near Sutri. On the day following his arrival at Nepi, viz., on June 9, Hadrian, surrounded by his cardinals, rode towards the German camp. He was accorded a warm reception by

[1] Boso: "jam spirans seditionis et scismatis." Octavian is the future antipope Victor IV. *Cf.* my *Lives of the Popes*, ix. p. 224 f.
[2] *Ib.* "Non missus a pontifice set dimissus." [3] *Ib.*

Photo La Compagnia Fotografica

The Pulpit in the Duomo of Ravello.

the Teutonic host, and was conducted in triumph to Frederick's tent. But here the harmony of the proceedings was rudely broken. The king did not come forward to offer that mark of respect which his predecessors had shown to the successors of the Apostles by holding the stirrup whilst the Pope dismounted. The cardinals, interpreting this to denote ill-will on the part of Frederick, and mindful of the seizure of Paschal II. by Henry VI., at once turned their horses round and fled at full speed towards Civita Castellana, leaving the Pope alone. Though perturbed at this unexpected incident, Hadrian quietly dismounted from his horse, and took the seat which had been prepared for him. Frederick thereupon advanced, kissed the Pope's feet, and would have given him the prescribed kiss of peace. But Hadrian drew back, saying that, until he had shown to him that mark of respect which his predecessors had been wont to show to the Roman pontiffs, he would not give him the customary kiss of peace. Frederick, however, would not give way. It was no part of his duty, he haughtily declared, to act as the Pope's groom. But next day, after Hadrian had returned to Nepi, it was proved by the testimony of the older princes, and by the records of history, that precedent was against the king, and it was decided that, "out of reverence for the blessed Apostles," he should perform the office of groom to the Pope. The German camp was, accordingly, pushed forward to Lake Janula near the town of Monterosi (June 11), and when Hadrian rode towards it, Frederick advanced to meet him, and, in sight of the whole army, stepped boldly forward, cheerfully led the Pope's horse for a brief space, and assisted him to dismount.[1]

[1] "Sicut a principibus fuerat ordinatum rex . . . occurens ei, quantum jactum est lapidis in conspectu exercitus officium stratoris cum jocunditate implevit, et streugam *fortiter* tenuit." Boso. Another

The kiss of peace then given him by the Pope sealed the reconciliation between these two iron characters.

A deputation from the Senate to Frederick.

When, now full of respect for one another,[1] the Pope and the king were on their way to Rome, they were met by a deputation from the city. The envoys addressed Frederick in the same bombastic style which the new Roman republic had previously used to the German monarch. They exhorted him to listen to what the Mistress of the world had to say to him. They had, they said, long awaited the coming of one who would throw off the yoke of the clergy, and under whom the insolence of the world would be subjected to the monarchy of the city. It was the city which had made emperors of the German kings, and so he must observe all its laws and customs which his ancestors had confirmed to it, must give five thousand pounds of gold to its officials who would acclaim him in the Capitol, and protect the republic even to the shedding of his blood.[2]

account of this famous incident given by Watterich (ii. 342 f.) from the *Liber Censuum* (no. 142), is only an abridgment of the account of Boso. Gregorovius, who seems incapable of understanding what the eyes of faith can see in certain men, amuses himself in discovering "a scene" in *fortiter*. "Adrian pale, the emperor, with an ironical smile, briskly removing the stirrup" (*Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 532 n.). He would appear to have forgotten that the stirrup must be held *firmly* if one is really to assist another to dismount. Tarleton (p. 112), on the contrary, realises the truth: "that the Pope represented literally to the minds of all devout Christians our Blessed Lord Himself; and however great the earthly potentate, he lost none of his dignity in the eyes of the faithful by doing homage to the Holy Father." The thirteenth-century national codes of Suabia and Saxony, which are a record of ancient custom, lay it down that the Kaiser must hold the Pope's stirrup. Thus speaks the latter code, the *Sachsenspiegel*: "Dem Papst ist auch gesetzl dass er zu gewisser Zeit aufeinem weissen Pferde reiten mag, da ihm dann der Kaiser den Steigbügel halten soll, damit der Sattel sich nicht wende." P. 17, ed. Gärtner, Leipzig, 1732, quoted by Casartelli, p. 95. The *Schwabenspiegel* has a similar regulation.

[1] Otto F., *Gesta*, ii. 28.

[2] *Ib.*, c. 29.

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These cool demands were too much for the blunt German, and he broke in with the curt phrase that what he had heard of the wisdom of the Romans did not accord with the foolish words he had been listening to, and he reminded the envoys that the glory of the city had departed long ago, and was now to be found among the Germans. He had come, he told them, to claim his own, and not to receive anything from them. As for defending the city and its laws, he would know how to look after what belonged to himself.[1]

The Leonine city occupied by German troops.

Dumbfounded at this angry outburst of their future overlord, the Roman envoys left the German camp, saying that they must consult with those who had sent them before they could say more.[2] Not overpleased with the attitude which the Romans had taken up, Frederick consulted the Pope on the situation. "My son," replied Hadrian, "you will realise the guile of the Romans more and more as time goes on. . . . Meantime, send forward with all speed a body of picked troops who will assist my soldiers in holding St. Peter's and the Leonine city, and (to facilitate negotiations) I will attach to them Cardinal Octavian, a man of the noblest Roman descent and *most true to you.*" The Pope's advice was promptly acted upon, and a thousand men, the flower of the German army, were soon standing shoulder to shoulder with the papal troops by the bridge and castle of St. Angelo and on the old walls of Leo IV.

[1] *Ib.*, c. 30. *Cf.* what Frederick says himself about this Roman embassy in his letter prefixed to the History of Otto F. "Maximam pecuniam pro fidelitate eorum ac servitio, tria quoque a nobis juramenta exquisierunt (Romani). Inde, cum d. Papa et cardinalibus consilio inito, quia imperium emere noluimus et sacramenta vulgo præstare non debuimus, ut omnes dolos . . . eorum declinaremus, Octaviano cardinale conducente, maxima pars militiæ nostræ nocte per portam parvulam juxta S. Petrum intravit." *Cf.* Helmold, *Chron. Slav.*, i. 79, who says the Senate asked Frederick for 15,000 pounds.

[2] Otto F., *l.c.*, c. 31.

The coronation of Frederick, 1155.

Just after sunrise on June 18, the Pope and his cardinals betook themselves to Rome to await the arrival of Frederick. At length, to those on the watch, the bright flashings of the rays of the morning sun from helmet and cuirass, and from sword and spear, revealed the German host descending the slopes of the Mons Gaudii. Leaving, as usual, the main mass of his troops outside the walls, Frederick entered the Leonine city by the Golden Gate near St. Peter's. Then, exchanging his military accoutrements for the state robes of an emperor, he was received by Hadrian in front of the altar of S. Maria in Turri. There, kneeling before the Sovereign Pontiff with his hands in those of the Pope, he swore to be the defender of the Holy Roman Church in the terms set forth in the *Ordo* which was followed on this occasion.[1]

Hadrian then went to St. Peter's, whither he was followed in solemn procession by Frederick. At the Silver Gate the new emperor was met by the cardinal-bishop of Albano, who pronounced the first prayer over him: "O God in whose hands are the hearts of kings . . . grant to Thy servant Frederick, our emperor, the shield of Thy wisdom, and that, drawing his counsels from Thee, he may please Thee, and may preside over all the kings of the earth."

Advancing up the nave of the great basilica, Frederick

[1] Boso: "Consuetam professionem . . . secundum quod in *ordine* continetur, publice exhibuit." The Ordo in question is that of Cencius Camerarius, and may be read in Fabre's ed., *Liber Censuum*, i. p. 420 f., or ap. Watterich, ii. 328 ff. With this account of an imperial coronation which we are here giving from Cencius, compare those already given in my *Lives of the Popes*, vol. ii. 275, v. 166, vii. 159. The oath taken on this occasion ran thus: "In nomine Christi promitto, spondeo et polliceor ego (Fredericus) Imperator, coram Deo et b. Petro, me protectorem . . . esse hujus S. R. Ecclesiæ in omnibus utilitatibus in quantum divino fultus fuero adjutorio secundum scire et posse."

reached the great disc of red porphyry[1] let into its floor. Here the second prayer was offered up by the bishop of Porto: "O God . . . the ruler of empires, who from the seed of . . . Abraham didst take the Everlasting King . . . firmly establish this sovereign . . . in the throne of empire. Visit him as Thou didst Moses in the burning bush, . . . and pour on him the dew of Thy wisdom. . . . Be Thou to him a shield in all his difficulties, and grant that the nations may be true to him, that his nobles may keep the peace, and that his people may ever enjoy the blessings of happiness and peace."

From the disc Frederick moved forward to the Confession of St. Peter, and prostrated himself on the ground whilst the archdeacon intoned the Litany. When it was finished, the bishop of Ostia anointed the emperor on his right arm and between the shoulders, at the same time calling on God, in whom all power resides, to grant him a happy period of imperial rule (*prosperum imperatorie dignitatis effectum*), that nothing may hinder his care for the Church,[2] and that he may rule his people with justice. After another prayer Mass began, and, according to one codex,[3] when the epistle had been read, the emperor was presented to the Pope, who, standing in front of the altar of St. Peter, and taking from it a sword in its sheath, girt it on him saying: "Receive this sword, taken from the body of St. Peter." Then, after Frederick had drawn the sword and had right manfully (*viriliter*) thrice brandished it in the air and had received the sceptre, came the supreme moment. The Pope took the imperial crown from the altar, and placed it on the monarch's head with the words:

[1] "In medio rotæ," Ordo; "infra ecclesiam in rota," says Boso.

[2] The actual words of the prayer speak of the emperor's *rule* of the Church: "Concedas (Deus) . . . ut in tua dispositione constituto ad regendam Ecclesiam tuam . . . ei præsentia officiant," etc.

[3] Ap. Watterich, *l.c.*, p. 329 f.

"Receive this emblem of glory in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and so wear it in justice and mercy that you may receive from our Lord the crown of eternal life."[1]

No sooner were these momentous words uttered than the Germans raised so tremendous a cheer that it seemed, writes Boso, as though a thunderbolt had suddenly fallen from heaven.

During the rest of the Mass the emperor sat on a faldstool by the Pope's right hand, and when it was over returned on horseback to his tent just outside the walls with the imperial crown on his head, whilst the Pope withdrew to the Vatican palace.[2]

The Romans attack the Germans.

All this had been accomplished before nine o'clock in the morning. Meanwhile, word of what was being done began to spread like wildfire through the city. The alarum was sounded, and senators and people rushed to the Capitol Furious that Frederick had not deigned to seek the imperial crown from them, they flew to arms,[3] and, as the Germans had followed their ruler to the camp outside the walls, they forced their way into the Leonine city from the Trastevere and across the bridge of St. Angelo. Killing or plundering all they met, the Romans pressed on to St. Peter's. Meanwhile, the tumult and the cries of fugitives roused the emperor, who, fearing for the Pope and the cardinals, called his troops to arms. Although oppressed by the heat, the Germans obeyed the call with

[1] We have slightly abridged this prayer. In the Constantinopolitan codex just quoted there are a few additional words before "emblem": "Accipe diadema regni, coronam imperii, signum gloriæ," etc. Boso's description is in complete accordance with the Ordo.

[2] With Otto, ii. 32, *cf.* the Ordo.

[3] Otto, *l.c.*, c. 33; *cf.* Boso, who says the people acted "sine consilio et deliberatione majorum"; and Vincent of Prague (who in Rome gathered materials for his graphic description of this fight from eye-witnesses), "antiquum fastum somniantes," *Ann.*, 1156, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi.

alacrity and rushed into the city. A desperate hand-to-hand fight ensued which lasted till nightfall.[1] By that time the imperial forces had driven the Romans out of the Leonine city with great slaughter, and the patriotic episcopal historian grimly tells us that they smote as though they were saying: "Take, you Romans, German steel instead of Arabic gold. This is the money your Prince gives you for his crown. 'Tis thus empire is bought by the Franks."

According to the same authority, a thousand Romans were killed or drowned, six hundred of them were taken prisoners, while a countless number were wounded.[2] The losses were, however, not confined to the Romans, and when the Germans retired to their camp at night they had to mourn the loss of many a gallant comrade.[3]

Hadrian obtains the release of the Roman prisoners, and Frederick destroys castles.

This terrible slaughter of his people greatly distressed Hadrian;[4] and, as soon as morning broke, he went to the tent of Frederick, and did not leave it until he had procured the release of all the captives.[5] Despite the defeat of the

[1] Speaking rather as a patriotic German than as an impartial historian, Gerhoh of Reichersberg writes (*Liber de novitat. hujus temp.*, n. 31, ed. Thatcher, in his *Studies concerning Adrian IV.*): "Populus Romanus principatui apostolico inimicus nuper cesus est non in facie tamquam strenue pugnans, sed in dorso tamquam ignaviter fugiens ante faciem principatus apostolici et imperatoris."

[2] Otto, *ib.* *Cf.* Helmold, *l.c.*, c. 80; *Chron. Farf.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xi. 590; *Anon. Gesta di Fed.*, v. 610 ff.; the letter of Frederick to Otto; Godfrey of Viterbo, *Gesta Frid.*, n. 6; Gunther, l. iv., *init.*; Vincent of Prague (*l.c.*) especially.

[3] Otto, *l.c.*, talks of only one German being killed and one being captured; but the truth is no doubt with Morena: "Multi ab utraque parte . . . interfecti," *Hist.*, p. 989, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi.; and with the *Anon. Gesta di Fed.*, v. 714 f.: "Corpora multa virum passim ceduntur utrinque." *Cf.* the graphic account of this fight given by Vincent of Prague (*Annal. Bœmorum*), who appears to have made careful inquiries about it, ap. Watterich, ii. 349, or *M. G. SS.*, xvii.

[4] "Eidem populo tanquam suo gregi debita caritate compassus est." Boso.

[5] *Ib.* *Cf. Gesta di Fed.*, v. 746 ff.

Romans, the emperor did not care to remain in the neighbourhood of their city. His forces, not large even when he had entered Italy, were now much reduced, and they were suffering from the heat, and from want of provisions, as he was not strong enough to compel the Romans to supply them. However, still further to impress the people of the peninsula with a sense of his power, he resolved to destroy some of the castles of the Campagna. Accompanied by Hadrian, he marched along the right bank of the Tiber, passing between it and the heights of Soracte. A few miles further north he crossed the river at the ford "de Malliano," viz., Magliano della Sabina, near the Ponte Felice, not far from which there is still a ford.[1] From the left bank of the Tiber he advanced to the imperial monastery of Farfa, and thence to Poli, some six or seven miles from Tivoli. In the course of his march the emperor destroyed many of the castles of the Roman nobles. Poli, perched on a rock in a valley which cuts deeply into the mount of Guadagnolo, was no doubt one of the strongest of the castles attacked by Frederick. Whether he levelled it also with the ground or not,[2] he

[1] The "passo della punta di Foglia." *Cf.* the map attached to Gell's *The Topography of Rome.*

[2] Frederick himself, in his letter to Otto, tells us of the surrender to him of "all the fortified places around Rome," but the only writer who tells us of this destruction of fortresses is the anonymous author of the *Gesta di Fed.*, v. 753 ff., and he does not give the names of any of the strongholds destroyed :

> "Urbeque dimissa, confinia circuit, altas
> Confringens, turres, quas incola fecerat urbis,
> Ut proprias villas his posset ab hoste tueri
> Tutius atque aliis, cuperet si quando noceret."

For Frederick's itinerary, see Boso, and Otto, ii. 34. *Cf.* Lanciani, *Wanderings in the Roman Campagna*, p. 210 ff. (London, 1909), for an account of Poli and its district, viz., Guadagnolo, Saracinesco, Anticoli, and Castel Faustiniano, which in 1208 came into the hands of the Conti family (*i.e.*, the family of which Innocent III. was such a distinguished

marched from it to Ponte Lucano, about a mile south-west of Tivoli, where the Via Tiburtina (or Valeria) crosses the Anio. In a green and pleasant vale by the ancient and picturesque bridge the emperor rested his wearied troops, and, on the feast of St. Peter and Paul, assisted at the Pope's Mass in state, wearing his crown.[1] It is said, writes Bishop Otto, that, on this occasion, Pope Hadrian absolved those who in the conflict with the Romans had shed human blood, on the ground that a soldier who fights in obedience to his commander, against the enemies of the Empire and of the Church, is accounted, by the laws both of God and of man, not a murderer but an avenger (*vindex*).

Frederick leaves Italy, 1155.

With a view no doubt to making another attempt to subdue the Romans themselves, Frederick took up a position between Frascati and Rome. But the unhealthy state of the Campagna in July soon compelled him to retire to the mountains. Accordingly, taking leave of the Pope at Tivoli, he pitched his camp in the Apennines, near the sources of the white waters of the sulphureous Nar.[2] Thence, ravaging Spoleto on his way, he marched to Ancona, where he had an interview with ambassadors from the emperor Manuel, in connection with an alliance against the Normans.[3] Consequently, he made a last effort

member), and "which their former owner, Gregory the Great, had given partly to the monks of Subiaco, and partly to the monks of the Clivus Scauri."

[1] Otto, *l.c.*

[2] *Ib.*

[3] *Ib.*, cc. 35, 36; and *Gesta di Fed.*, v. 900 ff. *Cf.* Frederick's own letter to Otto: "Qui (the ambassadors) ut in Apuliam iremus et hostem utriusque imperii Wilhelmum . . . conterere vellemus, infinitam pecuniam nobis dare spoponderunt." It was desire for glory that led the Byzantine emperor Manuel to attempt to regain south Italy for the Empire. *Cf.* Nicetas Chroniates, *Hist.*, vii. 2, p. 265, ed. Bonn, 1835. The history of Nicetas (†*c.* 1216) embraces the period between 1118–1206.

to induce the princes to march with him into Apulia in order to co-operate with the Greeks, and to lend active support to Robert of Capua, and the other nobles who were in rebellion against William of Sicily. But fever had got the host in its grip, and the princes decided that they must return to Germany — a decision to which, "with bitterness of heart," Frederick had to bow.[1] His year's fighting in Italy had brought him the imperial crown, but it had left Milan, Rome, and William of Sicily all unsubdued.

Tivoli revolts to the emperor.

Whilst Frederick was still in the neighbourhood of Tivoli, that town, always ready to act against the Pope, threw off its allegiance to Hadrian and offered its keys to the emperor. But, appealing to him "as the advocate of the Roman Church," the Pope demanded that the place should be restored to him. Thereupon, "out of reverence for the Prince of the Apostles and for the Pope," the emperor commanded the people to return to their allegiance, "saving in all things the imperial rights."[2]

Frederick is punctilious about the imperial rights, 1155.

Of these "imperial rights" Frederick was extremely jealous, as he showed on another occasion shortly before this. Whilst still near Rome, he was informed that there was a picture in the Lateran palace depicting Lothaire kneeling at the feet of Innocent II. and receiving the imperial crown, and that there was an inscription beneath it setting forth that he had become "the Pope's man," and had received the imperial crown from him. Frederick was mightily displeased, and at once had a friendly altercation with Hadrian, who, seemingly astonished that the emperor

[1] Otto, *ib.*, c. 37. *Cf.* Boso, p. 393; *Gesta di Fed.*, v. 860 ff.; *Ann. Laubienses*, an. 1155, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iv. "Revertitur, (et) . . . judicium et justitiam potenter exercuit." Frederick reached Bavaria in September.

[2] Boso, *ib.*

The Gateway of the Old Monastery of S. Tommaso in Formis.

The Mosaic shows our Lord liberating a black and a white slave. Below is the inscription, "+ Magister Jacobus cum filio suo Cosmato fecit hc opus."

(*From a photo. By kind permission of Mr. J. Parker.*)

should make so much out of a trifle, undertook to efface both the picture and the inscription, "in order that so childish a thing (*vana*) might not furnish a cause of quarrel to the greatest men in the world."[1]

[1] Rahewin, iii. 10. "Post homo fit papæ, sumit quo dante coronam." Lothaire became the liegeman of the Pope for the inheritance of the Countess Matilda, and not for the imperial crown. Later on the memory of this picture was said to be one of the causes why Frederick and his nobles misinterpreted a letter of the Pope. *Cf. ib.*, and *infra*, p. 55.

CHAPTER III.

THE NORMANS. HADRIAN AS THE GUARDIAN OF THE PATRIMONY OF ST. PETER.

The position of affairs in S. Italy.

THE departure of the emperor had left the Pope in a very precarious position. His coming had done more harm than good to Hadrian's relations with the Romans, and his leaving the peninsula exposed him to the tender mercies of William of Sicily. Frederick's Italian expedition had disappointed many—the Greeks, who had looked for his support against the Normans; the Pope,[1] who had hoped that he would have rendered both the Romans and the Normans submissive; and a number of Norman nobles, both those who, trusting to him, had revolted against William on account of his favouritism; and those who, exiled by his predecessor Roger II., had relied on the emperor's undertaking to restore them.[2]

The Pope allies himself with the enemies of William of Sicily.

Finding the hopes which they had placed in Frederick thus come to naught, the different parties began to act for themselves. The Greeks landed troops in south Italy, and took possession of various strongholds; while the revolted

[1] Both before and after the coronation of Barbarossa, Hadrian had urged him to march against William. *Cf.* Chalandon, *Hist. de la domin. Normande*, ii. 198. "Qui (Frederick) ante receptam coronam Papæ promisisset, quod senatores noviter creatos deponeret, Urbem, et regalia b. Petri in illius potestate redigeret etc. Papa vero sua promissione frustratus" marched south to join the Norman nobles who were in rebellion against William. Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, sub an. 1154.

[2] "Exulibus Apuliæ . . . conquerentibus, . . . expeditio Italica tam pro afflictione horum quam pro corona imperii accipienda . . . jurata est." Otto, *Gesta F.*, ii. 7.

barons of Apulia, whose numbers had been augmented by the excommunication of their sovereign, turned to the Pope. After the departure of the emperor, Hadrian had not been able to return to Rome, but had remained either near Tivoli, or Tusculum, or at Civita Castellana. At one of these places he received the envoys of the revolted barons, who begged him as their suzerain to come into Apulia, and to take themselves and their property under his protection.[1] Hadrian, accordingly, gathering together what forces he could from the nobility of the city and of the Campagna, and from the adjoining towns, marched to San Germano "about the feast of St. Michael"[2] (*c.* September 29). Here and at Sora and at Benevento he received the oaths of allegiance of Robert, Prince of Capua, and other nobles,[3] and about the same time was greeted with an offer of men and money from the Greek emperor on condition that he would hand over to him three maritime cities of Apulia.[4] It would seem likely too that negotiations were at the same time entered into between them for the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches.[5]

[1] Boso. "Majores ejus (the king of Sicily) comites atque barones cum majoribus Apulie civitatibus . . . eo relicto nuncios suos ad d. Adrianum P. tanquam ad principalem dominum destinarunt rogantes ut . . . et terram ipsam, que juris b. Petri esse dinoscitur, ac personas et eorum bona in manu . . . sua reciperet."

[2] *Ib.*

[3] *Ib. Cf. Chron. Ceccan.* (or *Fossæ Novæ*), an. 1155, and Romuald of Salerno, *Chron., l.c.*

[4] Boso. *Cf.* Cinnamus (1143–c. 1185), *Epitome*, iv. 5, p. 146, ed. Bonn, 1836. The history of Cinnamus, the secretary of Manuel Comnenus, extends from 1118 to 1176. On all the relations between Hadrian and William, see also Will. of Tyre, *Hist. rer. trans.*, xviii. 2, 6–9.

[5] *Cf.* ep. 198 to Basil, archbishop of Thessalonica. Hadrian speaks of the schism, "to which we can hardly refer without a flood of tears," and bids his correspondent note how the holy Fathers, enlightened by the Holy Ghost, decreed that the holy Roman Church should have the full primacy in order to be the centre of union, and to remove all schism,

William offers terms which are unfortunately rejected.

Alarmed at the combination against him, William endeavoured to make peace with the Pope. If he were freed from excommunication and restored to Hadrian's good graces, he undertook to do homage to him, to give liberty to the churches of his dominions, to make a donation to the Pope of certain places near Benevento, and to induce the Romans to submit to him.[1] Unfortunately, against his own inclinations, but in deference to the views of his cardinals, who regarded the discomfiture of William as certain, Hadrian rejected the king's proffered terms.

William masters the Greeks, etc., and makes terms with the Pope, 1156.

Inspired now with the courage of despair, William marched rapidly into Apulia. The Greeks were utterly defeated, and the forces of the rebels seemed to melt away before the victorious king (April and May 1156).[2]

The Pope was now in a very helpless position. However, he resolved to face it by himself, and, sending the majority of the cardinals into a more safe place in Cam-

"Traditum est quonam modo ss. Patres, divino spiritu illuminati, omnium ecclesiarum primatum sacrosanctam Romanam ecclesiam absolute obtinere jusserint, et ad ejus sententiam omnium judicium referri præscripserint, et ad tollendam de medio divisionem," etc. Fortunately, the reply of Basil of Achrida is still extant. He says that the Pope's letter shows his boundless charity, and that in it he has recognised the voice of his father, and shepherd, nay, of the Shepherd of shepherds. He has recognised his father's voice because he is still his child, and is not disunited from him, but confesses the faith of Peter. The Pope must not regard the Greeks as sheep that have gone astray. There is the same faith in the East and in the West, there is the same sacrifice. It must be the work of the Pope to remove the slight obstacles which hinder the perfect union of the Greeks and the Latins; and he will find a powerful auxiliary in the emperor whose will all the Greeks obey (ep. Basil, ap. L. Allatius, *De consens. utriusque eccles.*, ii. c. 11, or ap. Baronius, *Annales*, an. 1155. *Cf.* Chalandon, *Jean II. et Manuel I.*, p. 358 ff.). It would seem that, if Basil was in earnest, the Greeks either would not or could not see the gulf which divided them from Rome, and that full submission in matters of faith to the Pope on the one hand or the emperor on the other was the one point which made all the difference.

[1] Boso. [2] *Cf.* Chalandon, *Hist. de la dom. Nor.*, ii. 226 ff.

pania, awaited with a trusty few in Benevento the arrival of William.[1] He treated the cardinals in this way, either because he had compassion on their weakness, mindful of the way they had abandoned him on his first encounter with Frederick, or because he feared that they might again adopt the uncompromising attitude towards William which had proved so unfortunate. As soon as the victorious troops of the Sicilian king were descried from the walls of the city, Hadrian sent forward his chancellor, Roland, the cardinal-priest of St. Mark's, and two other cardinals to meet them.[2] They had been instructed to take a high stand, and in the name of Blessed Peter to bid the king to cease from further hostilities, to make atonement for the injuries he had committed, and to leave the rights of the Roman Church undisturbed. William received the legates well, and, after much discussion,[3] the terms of a settlement between the Pope and himself were arranged (June 18).[4]

The treaty of Benevento, June 1156.

In the first place, Hadrian was compelled to recognise certain territorial claims on the part of the Normans which his predecessors had refused to allow. To William and his heirs were conceded "the kingdom of Sicily, the duchy of Apulia, and the princedom of Capua, with all that belonged thereto, Naples, Salerno, and Amalfi, with all that appertained to them, Marsia and other places beyond it,[5]

[1] Boso.

[2] Boso; but, according to William of Tyre, *Hist.*, xviii. 8, the embassy was only sent after a close siege had brought a scarcity of provisions. The authority of Boso, who wrote on the spot, is naturally much greater in this matter than that of William.

[3] Boso, p. 395, "post mutuam diversorum altercationem capitulorum."

[4] The concordat is given ap. Fabre, *Liber Cens.*, i. 376 f., or ap. Watterich, ii. 352 ff.

[5] This district would seem to correspond generally with the two modern Neapolitan provinces of the Abruzzi, stretching along the Adriatic as far as the river Tronto. The district had been annexed by the Normans about the year 1140. *Cf.* Fabre, *Liber Censuum*, i. 44 ff.

and the other belongings (*tenimenta*) which were legally held by our predecessors, vassals of the holy Roman Church."

While the Pope on his side engaged to help William to hold these territories against all comers, the king on his side did homage to the Pope for them, and undertook to pay a yearly tax of 600 schifati for Apulia and Calabria, and 500 for Marsia.[1]

With regard to the ecclesiastical clauses of the treaty, a distinction was drawn between Apulia and Calabria on the one hand, and Sicily on the other. In the former localities permission was to be given for clerics to appeal to the Pope in ecclesiastical disputes; for translations from see to see to be made with the consent of the Pope; and for the Roman Church to consecrate the bishops and hold visitations of their dioceses, to send legates there, who, however, must not ruin the possessions of the churches, and, finally, to have the right to hold councils in any city, except where the king may chance to be at the time.

In Sicily itself, however, the rights of the Papacy were more restricted. The Roman Church was to have the right of consecration and visitation, and of summoning ecclesiastics to Rome. But with regard to the last-named right, the king was empowered to retain such as he really needed for ecclesiastical purposes or to crown him.[2] Apart from the rights of appeal and of sending legates, which were only to be exercised at the request of the king, the

[1] The sum paid for Marsia seems to have been only 400 schifati, *i.e.*, 1000 schifati altogether were paid. *Cf.* Fabre, *ib.*, p. 16. The schifatus, an imperial coin, convex in shape like a shield, was worth about a quarter of an ounce of Sicilian gold, and was reckoned as equivalent to eight golden taris; hence the 1000 schifati were worth about 266 ounces of Sicilian gold and 20 taris, as the tari was $\frac{1}{30}$ of an ounce.

[2] "Si de Sicilia personas aliquas ecclesiastici ordinis vocaverit, magnificentia nostra nostrorumque heredum pro christianitate facienda vel pro suscipienda corona, remoto malo ingenio, retinebit quas providerit retinendas." Ap. Watterich, ii. 353.

Church was to have in Sicily all the remaining privileges which it had in the other parts of the king's realms. In the matter of elections the clergy were to choose suitable persons, and submit their names to the king, who was to approve of them unless they were "from some cause or other" distasteful to him.[1]

In these negotiations Hadrian did not forget the Norman nobles who had acted with him, and who had fled to Benevento for protection. At his intercession William agreed to allow them to leave his kingdom in possession of their freedom and of all their property.[2]

Hadrian meets William, June 18.

When the terms of peace had been arranged, Hadrian left Benevento with the few cardinals he had still with him and went to the Church of St. Marcian, near the river Calore. Here, in the presence of all his nobles, William took the oath of fealty to the Pope, which Oddo Frangipane read out for him, and with three banners was duly invested with Sicily, the duchy of Apulia, and the principality of Capua. Before the Pope and the king parted, the former showed his goodwill to his new liegeman by subjecting the churches of Agrigentum and

[1] "Si persona illa (the elect of the clergy) de proditoribus aut inimicis nostris . . . non fuerit, aut magnificentiæ nostræ non extiterit odiosa, vel *alia in ea causa non fuerit*, pro quo non debeamus assentire." *Ib.*, p. 354. On the ground that they were opposed "to the apostolic dignity," and "to ecclesiastical liberty," Innocent III. availed himself of the minority of Frederick II. to get these objectionable concessions annulled. "Super quatuor capitulis, videlicet, electionibus, legationibus, apellationibus et conciliis, . . . mandavit imperatrici (Constance, the mother of Frederick II.) ut illis capitulis renuntiaret omnino." *Gesta Inn.*, c. 21, p. xxxii, ap. *P. L.*, t. 214.

[2] "Comitem Robertum . . . et reliquos inimicos suos, qui Beneventum ad d. Papam confugerant, ejusdem Papæ precibus liberos et illæsos cum rebus suis de regno exire permisit." So speaks the local writer, Romuald of Salerno, *l.c.* William of Tyre (*Hist.*, xviii. 8) is then evidently mistaken when he says that Hadrian, in making peace with William, had no concern for his Norman allies.

Mazarium, which were immediately dependent on the Holy See, to the archiepiscopal see of Palermo (Panormus),[1] while the king on his side gave great presents of gold, silver, and silk to the Pope and his court.[2]

Hadrian wins back temporal authority over Orvieto.

After solemnly confirming the treaty,[3] which was in the main more favourable than he might have hoped for, Hadrian, keeping to the mountains, moved north, and reached Narni at the beginning of August. Henceforth, free from enemies near home, he steadily devoted himself to strengthening his temporal authority over the Patrimony of St Peter and to its material development, and that too despite his further difficulties with Barbarossa, which will be recounted in the next chapter.

From Narni he went to Orvieto, which, after a long period of independence, he had only recently won back to the allegiance of the Holy See. As it was generally believed that the city had never yet been visited by a Pope, it was felt that the best means of securing its loyalty would be for Hadrian to take up his abode there for a time. This expectation was not disappointed. The people of Orvieto, headed by one of the Farnese family,[4] gave the Pope a most hearty welcome, and were in turn treated by him with the most affectionate kindness.[5]

Hadrian's places of abode.

On the approach of winter, Hadrian left Orvieto, and returning to Rome, where he was received with becoming

[1] "Quæ (the city of Palermo) solo fere nomine usque modo metropolis habebatur," says Hadrian in his bull. Ep. 203.

[2] Romuald, *l.c.*, and Boso.

[3] See his letter ap. Watterich, ii. 355 ff.; ep. 202; Jaffé, 10193.

[4] On this family, see Pastor, *Hist. of the Popes*, xi. p. 14 ff.

[5] See the convention afterwards made between the people of Orvieto and the Pope. *Liber. Cens.*, i. 390 f. Among other conditions to which the people of Orvieto agreed was one by which they bound themselves to serve in the Pope's army from "Tintihano" (Tizzano? only an insignificant place between Pistoja and Florence) to Sutri: "In expeditionibus d. Papæ servient ei a Tintihano usque Sutrium."

Photo N.P.G.

Ravello. The Tower of the Palazzo Rufolo, wherein Hadrian IV. is said to have resided.

honour, took up his permanent residence at the Lateran palace.[1] Here he stayed for the rest of his life, only leaving it in the summer heats for some hill-town, Segni or Anagni, Narni or Sutri, or, as it is said, picturesque Ravello,[2] where the remains of the castle[3] in which he resided are still shown.

Hadrian as guardian of the Patrimony.

Hadrian's summer visits to different parts of the Patrimony of St. Peter enabled him to see what was needed for its improvement, and he accordingly devoted what leisure he could find to bettering both it and the city.

At the south end of the transept of old St. Peter's was the chapel of St. Processus, and at the north end were the baptismal fonts of the basilica.[4] As the roof of the saint's chapel was out of repair, it would seem that, when reconstructing it, Hadrian made it equal in height to the main roof of the transept, and that to keep right the proportions of the transept, he raised in like manner the roof of the baptistery at its other extremity. In the Lateran palace also he effected many improvements, adding to it, for instance, what Boso calls "a very necessary and very large tank"; and in the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian he consecrated a new altar-stone which had been placed on top of the one which St. Gregory I. had consecrated there over five hundred years before.

But he did not confine himself to repairing or erecting churches in Rome or its immediate neighbourhood. He sent sculptors (*pro incidendis lapidibus et columnellis*) as

[1] Boso. Here Boso's detailed story of Hadrian's life comes to an abrupt close. The few remaining paragraphs of his biography simply give a list of the improvements he effected in the Patrimony and of the ordinations he held. They close with a brief notice of his death.

[2] Ravello is splendidly situated on a ridge up a ravine between Minori and Atrani. As some slight confirmation of the tradition of Hadrian's visit to Ravello we may note his grant of a privilege to its bishop. Ep. 141.

[3] The Palazzo Rufolo.

[4] *L. P.*, i. 266, n. 20.

far as Pisa, "which had shown itself so devoted to its predecessors," that they might there erect a monastery.[1] By these and other similar attentions to churches, Hadrian has furnished us with additional proof of the continued vitality of the Roman school of art, and that he at least did not merit the reproach which John of Salisbury tells us[2] was levelled at some of the Popes, viz., that they built palaces whilst the churches were falling to ruin.

On May 29, 1153, the abbot of Monte Amiata had made over, on certain conditions, "the quaint volcanic mountain-knoll" of Radicofani to Eugenius III.[3] With walls which seem still to defy time, with towers and a deep ditch, Hadrian rendered this a strong fortress. He took similar steps with regard to Orcle (Orchia), now Castella d'Orchia, midway between Bieda and Toscanella. This place had been abandoned by its inhabitants, and had become a den of thieves. At great expense Hadrian repeopled and fortified it.[4]

Besides erecting a chapel at Ponte Lucano, and supplying it with all the necessaries for the celebration of Mass, we are assured by Boso that "Hadrian greatly increased the Patrimony of Blessed Peter" by the purchase of land and buildings. His biographer proceeds to give several examples of the Pope's acquisitions, and it is interesting to find that his accuracy is attested by many of the original deeds of purchase that have survived to our time in the *Liber Censuum* of Cencius.[5] Finally, he augmented the papal property by the lands which he inherited from

[1] Ep. 95.

[2] *Polycrat.*, vi. 24, p. 264. Hare, *Walks in Rome*, i. 328, assigns the portico of SS. Giovanni e Paolo to Hadrian (1158).

[3] See the deed of gift, ap. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, iii. p. 636, or Fabre, *Lib. Cens.*, i. 380 ff.

[4] Boso. *Cf.* document No. 113, ap. *Lib. Cens.*, i. 395 f.

[5] Nos. 98–104, ap. ed. Fabre, i. 385 ff.

certain nobles who, either in admiration or fear of his character, or to secure his protection, made over all their possessions to him by formal legal documents.[1]

After they had thus been put into his hands, they were generally again made over to their late owners as fiefs; and, even when they had originally been taken by force, they were often given back in the same way. A certain Adenulf of Aquapuzza, near Sezza, the Setia of the Volscians, thought himself strong enough to defy the Pope. But a force of horse and foot was at once sent out from Rome against him, under the treasurer (*camerarius*) Boso, cardinal-deacon of SS. Cosmas and Damian.[2] The baron held out for a long time, but was at length compelled to surrender unconditionally. The papal banner was planted on his tower, and he himself, with bare feet and a rope round his neck, handed over his castle to Hadrian by presenting him with a myrtle bough. "Then, with the customary clemency of the Apostolic See, the Pope invested the aforesaid Adenulf with his castle as a fief."[3]

Besides imparting the blessings of law and order to the Patrimony generally, Hadrian endeavoured to impress

[1] "Totam etiam eorundem comitum terram, sicut continetur in publico eorum instrumento, quod est in archivis repositum, in propriam b. Petri hereditatem per ipsorum spontaneam donationem accepit." Boso. The said counts received back their lands from the Pope as fiefs, swearing to make peace or war at the command of the Pope, to observe the Truce of God, to keep the highway open, and not to injure churches, hospitals, Templars, monks, etc. See the deed of enfeoffment, ap. *Lib. Cens.*, i. 389 f. Their *donation* was really a restitution. "Taliter eas vobis concedimus pro multis et gravibus offensis quas vobis d. Papæ vestrisque predecessoribus et curie Romane sepe fecimus. Et quia easdem . . . terras de jure et dominio b. Petri aperte fuisse comperimus, ideoque eas vobis libere restituimus." See one of their deeds, ap. *Lib. Cens.*, i. 389, ed. Fabre.

[2] This is the papal biographer. It is quite possible that occupations of this sort prevented him from completing his *Life* of Hadrian.

[3] This was in 1158. See the document, apparently an extract from Hadrian's lost register, ap. *Lib. Cens.*, i. 427.

them on those with whom he came into daily contact. Documents, for instance, are extant[1] which show that he reorganised the schola of the *ostiarii*, doorkeepers or guardians, of the Lateran palace, and of the basilicas of St. Lawrence and St. Silvester. He placed them under the control of the *camerarius*, and made them take a solemn oath to be true to the Pope, to guard the places committed to their charge during his life or at his death, and not to steal any of his property or that of the places entrusted to them.[2]

If only Hadrian's organising power had been spared to the Roman See for a long period of years, there can be no doubt that the power and resources of the Roman pontiffs at home would have been very greatly enhanced!

[1] Nos. 158–9, ap. *ib.*, pp. 419–20, with Fabre's notes thereto.

[2] "Non furabor . . . de reliquiis, auro, argento, gemmis, palliis, ornamentis, libris, cartulis, oleo, plumbo, ferro, ere, lapidibus, portis, lignis, tabulis, ipsius palatii et earundem ecclesiarum et Romanorum, PP." No. 158.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DIET OF BESANÇON. THE POPE AND THE LOMBARDS AGAINST BARBAROSSA. DEATH OF HADRIAN.

Causes of fresh trouble between the Pope and the emperor.

ALTHOUGH Frederick had left Italy as the friend of the Pope, the good understanding between them did not last long. One perhaps all-sufficient cause of this was the character of the two men. The emperor had the highest opinion of his dignity, and was resolved that all and everything should bend before it. This opinion was not lessened by his imperial coronation, but, on the contrary, as one chronicler expresses it, "the lord of the earth felt raised to the very heavens."[1] Hadrian on his side regarded himself as the Father of all Christians, and as the Shepherd of the entire flock of Christ, and believed that it was for him to reprimand any of his erring children, whether they were kings or peasants.

(*a*) The second marriage of Frederick.

Hence when in June 1156 Frederick, possibly illegally, married the beautiful Beatrice, daughter of Reinhold,

[1] One of the continuators of Sigebert of Gemblours: "Floret imperium, et dominus rerum sublimis attolitur." *Auct. Afflig.*, an. 1155, ap. *P. L.*, t. 160. John of Salisbury (ep. 59, ap. *P. L.*, t. 199, p. 39), from Frederick's own words, gives us a clear insight into his ambitious aims. He wished "to reduce the whole world beneath his power," and he was convinced he could do this, if he could get a Pope to act in accordance with his desires, and strike with the spiritual sword those whom he struck with the temporal. But, adds John, he has so far not found such a Pope. "Sed scio quid Teutonicus moliatur. Eram enim Romæ, præsidente b. Eugenio, quando . . . tanti ausi impudentiam tumor intolerabilis et lingua incauta detexit. Promittebat enim se . . . urbi subjiciendum orbem, eventuque facili omnia subacturum, si ei ad hoc solius Romani pontificis favor adesset," etc.

count of Burgundy,[1] he fell under the displeasure of the Pope. His first wife was Adelheid or Adelaide of Vohburg, and her, with the consent of his bishops, and, according to Otto of Frising, of certain papal legates,[2] he had, in the opinion of many, *unjustly* divorced.[3] Up to the time of his marriage with Beatrice, it might have been supposed that he was content with a mere separation from Adelaide, but after that it was obvious that he had repudiated his marriage with her altogether. At this point Hadrian took the matter up; but it would seem that a little inquiry must have proved that the marriage was in order; for no mention of it occurs in any of the incriminating letters which, as we shall soon see, Hadrian addressed to the emperor, or in any official document of the period which has come down to us.[4]

[1] Otto of Fris., *Gesta*, ii. 48. The *Ann. Egmundani* (ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi., an. 1158) say that Frederick married again, "relicta legitima conjuge." See also the *Ann. S. Disibod.*, an. 1156, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii.: "Repudiata priore legitima uxore . . . unde in ecclesia gravissimum exorta est scisma." The beauty and accomplishments of Beatrice are greatly praised by the chroniclers (Morena, etc.), and extolled by the poets:

> "Que Venerem forma superabat, mente Minervam
> Junonemque opibus. Numquam fuit altera talis,
> Excepta domini Jhesu genitrice Maria."
>
> *Gesta di Fed.*, v. 1111 ff.

[2] "Per apostolicæ sedis legatos ab uxore sua, ob vinculum consanguinitatis separatus fuerat," not long before Sept. 1153. *Gesta F.*, ii. 11. The *Contin. Sanblasiana* of Otto says (c. 10) she was repudiated for conjugal infidelity, "causa fornicationis sepius infamatam, repudiavit." Innocent III. (*Regist.*, v. 50, ap. *P. L.*, t. 214, p. 1015) states expressly that the case was in order: "Imperator (Frederick) . . . ab ea quae conjux dicebatur ipsius, etc., licet in regno Teutonico, fuit tamen per legatos sedis apostolicæ separatus," etc.

[3] "Uxorem suam *injuste* dimisit, et inde magnam sibi calamitatem paravit." Sigebert, *Contin. Aquicinctina*, an. 1156, ap. *P. L.*, t. 160. *Cf.* other chronicles, ap. Watterich, ii. 356 n., and Burchardi et Conradi *Urspergensium Chron.*, p. 24, ed. Pertz, Hanover, 1874.

[4] The *Contin. Aquicinctina* indeed, after asserting (ad an. 1156) that Hadrian took Frederick to task on the subject of the divorce, goes on to say (ad an. 1158) that he excommunicated him for his second

(*b*) Other causes.

But while we cannot do more than suppose that Frederick was irritated at the legality of his marriage with Beatrice being called in question, it is certain that he was very angry at Hadrian's treaty with the Normans.[1] He maintained that the Pope had, by this concordat, proved himself false to the agreement of Constance, though, as it has been pertinently pointed out, it is difficult to conjecture what he expected Hadrian to do; "for the Pope had asked for the emperor's help, and, that refused, he was by all the rules of war entitled to make the best terms for himself."[2] Finally—for we are told that when men are determined to quarrel a straw will furnish the occasion—Frederick proclaimed his profound annoyance at Innocent's picture of Lothaire's coronation.[3]

The treatment of Archbishop Eskill, 1157.

That ill-will towards Rome was gaining ground with Frederick could not long remain unknown to Hadrian. He accordingly wrote to Abbot Wibald in the beginning of

marriage. But the course of this narrative will show that Hadrian died before actually excommunicating Frederick. Mackie, *Adrian*, p. 76, asserts that a letter (ep. 388 of the ed. of Martène and Durand) of Wibald makes the match with Beatrice the cause of the grave schism which subsequently vexed the Roman Church; but he is mistaken. The letter in question, which is ep. 411 of Jaffé's ed. (ap. *Mon. Corb.*, p. 550), is concerned with a proposed marriage between Frederick and a daughter of the Greek emperor Manuel. Wibald does not seem to have mentioned any trouble concerning Frederick's marriage with Beatrice.

[1] "Molestissime tulit," says Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii. 199. *Cf.* the letter of the German bishops to Hadrian, ap. Rahewin, iii. 17; and especially Gerhoh, *De investigatione Antichristi*, i. c. 56, ap. *Mon. Ger. Libell.*, iii. 366–7, and *Opusc. ad cardinales*, ap. *ib.*, p. 405; though in the latter place he acknowledges that Hadrian could scarcely help making a treaty with William: "sub cujus gladio tunc erant, et fortasse aliter exire non poterant."

[2] Tarleton, pp. 205–6.

[3] This is put forward as one of the causes of the quarrel between Hadrian and Frederick by the *Chron. regia Coloniensis*, an. 1156 or 7. See also Rahewin, iii. cc. 9 and 17. *Cf.* my *Lives of the Popes*, ix. 41; and *supra*, p. 40 f.

the year 1157 exhorting him with all prudence to admonish the emperor to continue to display due respect to the Apostolic See.[1] This, however, was beyond Wibald's power, and an event occurred some eight months after the despatch of this letter which furnished Frederick with an excuse for a violent display of temper. The spark which caused the fiery monarch's smouldering discontent to burst into vigorous flame was a letter from the Pope.[2]

Capture of Archbishop Eskill.

One of the most distinguished ecclesiastics of the north of Europe at this time was Eskill, archbishop of Lund. When this aged prelate was returning home after a visit to Hadrian, he was seized in Burgundy by one of those robber nobles who were the plague of travellers and of all honest men. The bishop was not only stripped of all he had, but maltreated, and, for the sake of a ransom, thrown into a dungeon. The emperor was appealed to, but took no steps to punish the culprit.[3] With his English love of justice, Hadrian was very indignant at this treatment of Eskill, and sent to Frederick a letter of remonstrance by two cardinals, the famous Roland, cardinal of St. Mark and chancellor of the Holy See, and Bernard, cardinal of St. Clement.[4]

The diet of Besançon, Oct. 1157.

The cardinals found Frederick at Besançon, whither he had gone to arrange the county of Burgundy, which he had received along with Beatrice, and appear to have given umbrage to a prince already prone to take offence by the style of their address, in which they put themselves on a level with the emperor. "The most blessed Pope Hadrian and

[1] Ep. 123 or ep. 454, inter epp. Wib., January 19, 1157.

[2] Ep. 143.

[3] Otto of St. Blaise ("about half-way between Basle and Constance"), c. 8. *Cf.* Hadrian's letter, ep. 143.

[4] *Ib.* Otto adds that these two cardinals were among the most distinguished of the Roman Church "ambo divitiis, maturitate, et gravitate insignes."

all the cardinals salute you," said they, "he as your father, they as your brethren." They then read the Pope's letter. Expressing his astonishment that, despite a previous letter on the subject, the emperor has still left the outrage on Eskill unpunished, Hadrian declared that he was at a loss to understand his negligence, since he was not conscious of having done anything against the imperial majesty, but, on the contrary, had ever cherished him as his special son, and as a most Christian Prince. "You ought, most glorious son, to call to mind with what joy your mother, the holy Roman Church, received you the other year . . . what plenitude of dignity and honour she bestowed upon you, and how, conferring upon you the imperial crown, she strove with maternal love to exalt your glory. . . . We do not regret to have fulfilled your desires in everything, but if you could possibly have received greater benefits (*beneficia*) at our hands, we should only have been too glad to have bestowed them, seeing what advantage could come to the Church of God and to us through you."[1]

Thereupon, whether simply because it had been resolved to pick a quarrel with the Holy See, or because the imperial chancellor, Reinald of Dassel, in translating the letter into German for the benefit of those who knew not Latin, had purposely or accidentally given it a wrong sense, the assembly became violently angry. They thought, or pretended to think, that the word *beneficia* had been used in its feudal sense of a fief (*Lehen* in German), and that consequently the Pope had professed to be the emperor's suzerain, and, as such, to have conferred the empire upon him as a fief. And when, as though poking the fire with a

[1] Ep. 143, ap. *P. L.*, t. 188, or ap. Rahewin, iii. c. 9. "Neque tamen pœnitet nos desideria tuæ voluntatis in omnibus implevisse, sed si majora beneficia excellentia tua de manu nostra suscepisset, si fieri posset, considerantes, quanta ecclesiæ Dei et nobis per te incrementa possint et commodo provenire, non immerito gauderemus."

sword,[1] one of the legates *is said* to have asked: "From whom did he receive the empire, if not from the Pope?" the anger of the assembled princes became tumultuous. Barbarossa himself is said to have blurted out in his rage: "Were we not in church, you should find how German steel bites"; and Otho of Wittlesbach, the Count Palatine, actually drew his sword, and, but for the emperor's intervention, would have slain the legate on the spot.[2]

The Pope's legates sent back to Rome.

The next day the legates were ordered to return direct to Rome, turning neither to the right nor to the left, nor stopping on the way.[3] In giving this order Frederick's chief object was no doubt to prevent the cardinals from showing to everyone what a childish or malicious interpretation had been given to the letter of which they had been the bearers, and from telling all they met that, in defiance of the law of nations, the sacred property of ambassadors had been seized by the emperor.[4] It would also appear that it was reported that he had forbidden any of his subjects to go to Rome.[5]

Frederick's version of the Besançon affair, Oct. 1157.

When Barbarossa had thus rid himself of those who could best have given him the lie direct, he scattered

[1] "Quasi gladium igni adderet, dixisse *ferunt* unum de legatis: A quo ergo habet, si a d. Papa non habet imperium." Rahewin, iii. 10.

[2] *Ib.* But again there is the note of uncertainty in our authority. He is not sure who it was who attempted to kill the legate: "Otto . . . ut dicebatur." On this Besançon affair see also the letter of Roland, when Alexander III., to Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux (April 1, 1160), and that of Frederick (ap. *ib.*, c. 11). Innocent III., ep. ap. *P. L.*, t. 216, p. 1029, gives Frederick's words.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] In his version of the Besançon episode which Barbarossa published for the enlightenment of the empire, he euphemistically declared that documents belonging to the legates "had been found." "Multa paria literarum apud eos *reperta sunt*." *Ib.*, c. 11. Only a few years ago the French Government was guilty of a precisely similar breach of honour and law.

[5] Ep. 148, ap. *P. L.*, or ap. Rahewin, *l.c.*, iii. 16.

broadcast a most misleading statement of what had occurred at the diet. Not one word did he say of the principal object of the coming of the papal legates, viz., to protest against the ill-treatment of Eskill, but he gave out that the peace of the Church, which it was the business of the Empire to guard, was being broken by the head of the Church. He was "the cause of dissension, the seed of evil, the poison of pestiferous disease," and his legates at Besançon, so the imperial manifesto insinuated, had declared that Frederick held "the imperial crown as a benefice from the lord Pope."[1] Upon these legates, averred the emperor, many letters similar to one another *were found*, as well as sealed but blank forms which could be filled up at their discretion, and which, in accordance with their usual custom, they could use to plunder the churches. In conclusion, after asserting that he held the kingdom and the Empire by the election of the princes from God alone, and that he was striving to rescue the honour and liberty of the churches from oppression, he called upon all to condole with him on the affront that had been put upon the Empire, and not to suffer its honour to be lessened by such an unheard-of innovation.

This intemperate document—in which, "much to his discredit," Frederick not only "allowed the error as to *beneficia* to go uncorrected,"[2] but even emphasised it—no doubt produced the desired effect upon those who were unacquainted with what had really taken place at Besançon. Much ill feeling at any rate was aroused against Rome.

The legates with the Pope, and his letter to the German hierarchy.

Meanwhile, the legates had informed the Pope of what had happened, and, according to Rahewin,[3] had made bad

[1] "Quicunque nos imperialem coronam *pro beneficio* a d. Papa suscepisse dixeret, divinæ institutione . . . contrarius est." Ap. Rahewin, *l.c.*, iii. 11.

[2] Tarleton, p. 214.

[3] *Gesta Frid.*, iii. 15. No notice is here taken of the letters *said* to

appear worse in order that he might act strongly in their behalf. Though an imperial minority among the cardinals accused the envoys of carelessness or incompetency, Hadrian stood by them, and at once wrote to the bishops of Germany exhorting them to bring Frederick back to a sense of his duty, and to insist on his causing the imperial chancellor and the Count Palatine to make condign satisfaction for the outrages they had offered to two such distinguished cardinals. They were also to impress upon the emperor that, whatever storms may arise, the Roman Church will ever remain firm on the rock on which God has set it.[1]

The German bishops' reply to the Pope.

Thus appealed to both by the emperor and by the Pope, the German bishops endeavoured to please both parties, though they had the honesty to commence their reply to the Pope by acknowledging that "they were very weak and timid."[2] And they certainly proved their cowardice by proceeding to pretend that they too, who were supposed to understand Latin, believed Hadrian's letter to have been really ambiguous, and that "saving thy grace, most holy father, on account of the sinister interpretation which its ambiguity permits, we do not dare nor are we able to defend or to approve its language." They had, however, they continued, received the Pope's letter with becoming reverence, and had admonished the emperor in accordance with its terms. In reply, he had assured them that he would pay due respect to his father, but that "the free crown of our Empire was a divine benefice (*fief*) only," and

have been written by Frederick and Hadrian to Hillinus, archbishop of Trier, about this time, as they are allowed to be apocryphal, nor of the theory which rests on them that Frederick thought of establishing a national Church with a German Pope. *Cf.* Hefele, *Conciles*, vii. 344 ff., Fr. ed.

[1] *Ib.*, c. 16.

[2] "Nos tamen infirmiores et pusillanimes." *Ib.*, c. 17, al. 16.

Photo N. P. G.

The Loggia of the Palazzo Rufolo at Ravello.

that to the Pope it simply belonged to anoint him as emperor. He further declared that he had not dismissed the legates in contempt of his father and consecrator, but that he could not allow them to proceed with the writings they had in their possession or were about to compose[1] to the dishonour of the Empire.

Then, after some quibbling with regard to Frederick's prohibition of intercourse with the Pope, the bishops proceeded to tell Hadrian that the emperor had denounced Innocent's picture of Lothaire's coronation, and the peace with William of Sicily. With regard to the Count Palatine and the chancellor, the former, they said, had left Germany for Italy to prepare for another expedition there, and the latter, averring that he had stood by the legates when their lives were in danger, now spoke in a most pacific strain.

In conclusion, they implored the Pope to pity their weakness, and to write to the emperor in a style which would remove the bitterness of his former letter.

Hadrian reopens negotiations with Frederick, spring 1158.

According to Rahewin,[2] it was the news which reached Hadrian that another expedition of Frederick into Italy was imminent that moved him to follow the advice of the German bishops and to write a conciliatory letter to the emperor. But, according to Hadrian himself, he acted in this matter "at the instigation of our beloved son, Henry,

[1] "Sed cum his et pro his quæ et scripta et *scribenda* ferebant in dedecus et scandalum imperii nostri ultra eos prodire pati nolumus." *Ib.* Documents *yet to be written* were on a par with pictures, and ludicrously bad translations as a cause of quarrel.

[2] III. 18. The news of Frederick's coming would seem also to have had the result of causing the senators to repair part of the walls of Rome. At any rate, an inscription found near the Porta Metrone proves that repairs were made to the walls in 1157: "Anno 1157 incarnat. D.N.J.C., S.P.Q.R. menia vetustate dilapsa restauravit senatore Sasso Johs. de Alberico," etc. *Cf.* Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 78. Control his statements by those of Adinolfi, *Roma nell' età di mezzo*, i. 38 f.

duke of Bavaria and Saxony."[1] As bearers of this explanatory epistle, he selected Cardinals Henry of SS. Nereus and Achilles, and Hyacinth of S. Maria in Cosmedin, who, as the imperial historian would have us believe, were more accomplished diplomatists than Roland and Bernard. On their way north the legates had an interview with the imperial agents, the Count Palatine Otho and the chancellor Reinald, who had entered Italy to receive the submission of the cities in preparation for the coming of the emperor. In boastful strain the imperial envoys thereupon wrote to inform their master that "the whole country was trembling before them," and advised him on no account to receive the papal envoys into full favour at once, because "God had so improved the state of his affairs that if he chose he could both destroy Rome and work his will with regard to the Pope and the cardinals."[2] They also told Frederick that, "on the Sunday on which *Jubilate* is sung (May 11)," they were expecting a number of senators and nobles from Rome, along with Otho, the nephew of Cardinal Octavian,[3] who were to bring them favourable overtures from the people.

Animated by such sentiments, Barbarossa's agents naturally took no thought to provide for the safety of the Pope's legates. Nor did they trouble themselves when

[1] Ep. 181, or ap. Rahewin, iii. 23. Rahewin himself tells us of Henry's "love for the Holy Roman Church." Otto of St. Blaise, c. 9, says that Hadrian's pacific letter was the result of an embassy sent to him by the princes of the Empire, who were afraid that if "the controversy between the Church and the Empire waxed greater the commonwealth would be ruined."

[2] "In tali statu Deus vos in præsenti constituit, quod si vultis et Romam destruere et de papa et cardinalibus omnem vestram voluntatem habere." Ap. Sudendorf, *Registrum*, ii. 131 ff., in Watterich, ii. 365. The full text is given also by Doeberl, *Mon. Germ. select.*, 4 Bänd., 116 ff.

[3] Afterwards the antipope, Victor IV.

they were seized in the valley of the Adige by two robber-barons who imagined that, because the emperor was ill-disposed towards the Holy See, they would be permitted to perpetrate any outrage on it or its servants.[1] The two cardinals remained in chains till the brother of Cardinal Hyacinth offered himself as a hostage for them. Fortunately, the barbarism of the counts was well punished by Henry the Lion, duke of Bavaria, who "for love of the Holy Roman Church, and the honour of the Empire" compelled them to make satisfaction for their iniquities.[2]

Frederick receives a second embassy from the Pope, June 1158.

It was at Augsburg that the new legates met Barbarossa, who, now free from the influence of his chancellor, Reinald,[3] showed himself more reasonable. He must also have been mollified by the cardinals' demeanour, who, we are told, showed their respect for him by their looks, tone of voice, and opening words.[4] This time they did not say that the cardinals saluted him as brothers, but as the lord and emperor of the city and the world, though they did unhesitatingly declare that it was in the full conviction that it had done no wrong that the Roman Church had unwillingly borne his indignation. They then handed the Pope's letter to the venerable episcopal historian, Otto, bishop of Frising, to be read and interpreted. If it had fallen to the lot of this man ("who was deeply grieved at the quarrel between the Church and the Empire")[5] to interpret Hadrian's previous letter, history would not have known any "Besançon incident."

Hadrian's explanatory letter, 1158.

The Pope commenced his letter by saying that from the beginning of his pontificate he had done his best for

[1] Rahewin, *Gesta*, iii. 21. [2] *Ib.*

[3] *Ib.* Reinald, no doubt, was one of the chief of those evil counsellors of the emperor to whom Hadrian alludes in his letter to the German bishops and in his second letter to Barbarossa.

[4] *Ib.*, c. 22. "Illi reverenter ac demisso vultu, voce modesta," etc.

[5] *Ib.*

the honour of the emperor, and that consequently he was profoundly astonished at the treatment which had been meted out to two of the best and most distinguished of his brethren. And they had been thus discourteously treated, he understood, on account of the word "beneficium," which ought not to have troubled the mind of anyone, much less that of an emperor. Hadrian then declared that the word ought to have been understood in its natural sense of good deed, which was the signification he had attached to it, and that he had not used any word in a feudal or technical sense. But, he added, if it were true that the emperor had restrained ecclesiastics from visiting the Roman Church, he trusted that he now recognised how unsuitably he had acted.[1]

This gentle but dignified answer of the Pope turned

[1] Ep. 181, or ap. Rahewin, iii. 23. This simple but firm explanation of the facts of the case, which Gregorovius does not venture to give at any length, he describes as the work of "a pedant or grammarian. *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 555. Mackie (p. 89) finds it "hard to believe that he (the Pope) acted quite ingenuously in this matter." But if to the external evidence of Hadrian's declaration that he wrote without any *arrière pensée* be added considerations drawn both from the general purport of the letter itself, and from the context and grammatical construction of the passages which were challenged, it appears to us impossible to believe that he did not act in perfect good faith. Hadrian's conduct must be judged on its own merits, and not on the unauthorised sayings or doings of others. Lest, however, anyone might be led from this particular opinion of Mr. Mackie's, to which we have here called attention, to misjudge his attitude towards Hadrian, we will cite the words with which he concludes his acccount of the Besançon episode: "If his (Hadrian's) character has seemed to suffer a stain in the quarrel which arose at Besançon, it is gloriously redeemed in the final act of the great drama. For the cool courage and the iron resolution of the Englishman shine out more gloriously than ever as he rises undaunted to face the mightiest lord in Christendom" (p. 90). The English reader will find the Besançon documents carefully translated in Henderson's *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, p. 410 ff., or in Thatcher and M'Neal, *A Source-book for Medieval Hist.*, p. 183 ff., though in the former he will find Lyon for Lund, Cosmide for Cosmedin, etc.

away Frederick's wrath, and for a brief space the Church and the Empire were once more at peace.

Frederick's second coming into Italy, July 1158.

But if Hadrian's letter furnished Frederick with a feigned pretext for a brief quarrel, the conduct of the latter in his second descent upon Italy provoked a deadly duel between himself and the Pope. His first Italian expedition had revealed to Barbarossa that the imperial authority in Italy, though readily enough acknowledged in theory, was in practice largely despised. He neither forgot nor forgave the treatment he had received, especially on his return from Rome, nor did the manner in which Milan had been able to flout his authority fade from his mind. It did not therefore require appeals for help from the cities oppressed by Milan and its allies[1] to move him to undertake another Italian expedition to crush the proud cities that disputed his authority.[2] Accordingly, from all parts of the empire he collected a great army which in July 1158 poured into Italy through all the passes of the Alps.[3] Once in the plains of Lombardy, Frederick was joined by all the enemies of Milan, which soon saw its few loyal supporters overwhelmed, and the imperial army round its own walls. After a close siege Milan had to submit (September 8), though among the favourable terms it secured was one by which the imperial army was not to enter the city. On the other hand, the Milanese had to submit the names of their chief magistrates or consuls for

[1] The *Gesta di Fed.*, v. 1321 ff., tells us that word reached Frederick that the people of Milan

> "Menibus elatum Terdone vi reparatis
> Ledere vicinos solito magis."

[2] Hence he proclaimed: "Non ad prelium nos accendit libido dominandi, sed feritas rebellandi. . . . Non inferimus, sed depellimus injuriam." Rahewin, iii. 29, al. 27.

[3] "Fredericus . . . secundo in Italiam, plenius eam subjugaturus, movit exercitum." Sigebert, *Chron., auct. Affligmense*, an. 1157.

the emperor's approval, and to give up all the regalian rights.[1]

All Lombardy seemed now awed into submission, and Frederick, dismissing the greater part of his forces, rebuilt the town of Lodi, which had been destroyed by the Milanese, and marched to the plains of Roncaglia,[2] whither he had ordered all the states and nobles of Italy (Lombardy) to send envoys.

The diet of Roncaglia, Nov. 1158.

At the great assembly, which opened about the middle of November, Frederick endeavoured to complete by law what he had begun by arms. With a view to establishing his authority on a firm legal basis, he gathered round him a number of jurists, especially from Bologna, who were called upon to lay down what were the rights included under the term *regalia*. Imbued with the revived study of the legislation of Justinian,[3] a number of these lawyers, assisted by consuls of fourteen Italian cities, assigned to the emperor rights which perhaps were not so excessive in themselves,[4] as directly contrary to those which the

[1] The full treaty is given by Rahewin, ii. 47, al. 41. The royal rights (regalia) are therein set down as "monetam (the right of coining money), theoloneum (tolls), pedaticum (also a kind of toll), portus (harbours, harbour dues), comitatus (taxes), and any such similar rights which there may be."

[2] "Haud procul hinc (Lodi) situs est, Ligures quem nomine dicunt
Roncaliam, campus segetum fecundus et herbe,
Rex ubi Romanus, Ligurum cum visitat urbes,
Colloquium celebrare solet, castrisque locatis,
Jura dare in populos et eorum solvere causas."
Gesta di Fed., v. 2597 ff.

[3] With the legislation which rested on the principle that the emperor's will was law: "Quod Principi placuit, legis habet vigorem." *Inst. Justin.*, lib. i. c. ii. § 6.

[4] They "were only the most ordinary prerogatives of government, and were, if anything, inferior to those possessed by the English kings and by the kings of France within the royal domain." Butler, *The Lombard Communes*, p. 110.

Lombard cities had long possessed; and, what was worse, they based the emperor's claim to those rights on the most extravagant assertions of the imperial prerogatives. Even the archbishop of Milan, following the teaching of Irnerius,[1] declared that "all the people's rights in law-making had been made over to him, and that his will was law,"[2] and some doctors went so far as to declare that "the emperor was really the lord of all property."[3]

According to Rahewin the *regalia* or crown rights, which "had for a long time been lost to the Empire because they had been usurped and the kings had neglected to recover them," and which were assigned to Frederick by the diet, included "the right to appoint dukes, marquises, counts, and consuls (in the cities), to coin money, to levy tolls, to collect the *fodrum* (provisions for the support of the imperial forces on the march), customs and harbour dues . . . to control mills, fish-ponds, bridges and all the water-ways, and to demand an annual tax not only from the land but also from each person."[4]

In addition to these financial measures, Frederick, in the interest of law and order, forbade private wars, and, in the interest of strong government, proposed to place in each city *Podestàs* (Potestates in Latin) or magistrates exercising "both judicial and executive functions" in his name. Finally, he issued certain feudal regulations, and then

[1] *Cf.* Carlyle, *Mediæval Political Theory in the West*, ii. p. 60. *Cf.* pp. 67, 73 for other preposterous opinions of *certain* jurists regarding the emperor's rights.

[2] Rahewin, iv. 5, al. 4.

[3] Carlyle, *l.c.*, p. 73.

[4] *Gesta*, iv. 7. The actual definition of *regalia* given by the diet has been preserved (ap. *M. G. LL.*, ii. p. 111 ff., and Doeberl, iv. n. 37, ap. 125) and gives rather more rights to the emperor. *Cf.* also Godfrey of Viterbo, *Gesta Frid.*, n. 18, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxii. p. 316, and O. Morena *Hist.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. p. 1015 ff. Thatcher and M'Neal, *Source-book*, p. 189, give a translation of the definition.

broke up the diet, which proved to be the Empire's "most decisive but also its last triumph."[1]

Trouble begins between Frederick and the cities.

After the assembly had been dismissed, Frederick took up his winter quarters at Alba on the Tanaro in south Lombardy, whilst his agents without loss of time proceeded to institute the Podestàs and to collect the taxes.[2] But the emperor soon found that it was one thing to order the payment of taxes, and another thing to collect them; one thing to say that Podestàs were to be instituted, and another thing to enforce their appointment; one thing to proclaim universal peace, and another to compel its observation. Many of the wealthy and democratic cities began to get very restive when they saw their revenues diverted into the imperial exchequer and their popular institutions superseded,[3] although, in theory, none of them made any difficulty in accepting the imperial claims. Besides, their rivalries were fatal to peace. Disputes of all kinds clamoured for Frederick's settlement. Unfortunately for himself and for the general peace, he did not hold the scales fairly. He favoured those who had supported him, and in the troubles which ensued "the balance of wrong-doing is on the whole on the side of the emperor."[4]

Milan in rebellion, 1159.

Many cities refused to receive his Podestàs, and the state of affairs became suddenly critical when Milan

[1] Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 555.

[2] "Fiscus abhinc properat tollere jura sua." Godfrey of V., *Gesta Frid.*, n. 18. "Nuncios pro colligendo fodro per totam Tusciam et Maritima, atque Campaniam direxit." Rahewin, iv. 13, al. 10.

[3] "Contra novas institutiones imperatoris murmurare cœperunt Lombardi." Burchardi et Cuonradi *Urspergensium Chron.*, p. 30, ed. Pertz, 1874. Burchard of Biberach died provost of Ursperg in 1226. His chronicle serves as a continuation of that of Ekkehard of Aura. Seemingly in 1226 his pen was taken up by Conrad of Lichtenau († 1240), who at the end of 1229 put off further writing to a year that never came.

[4] Butler, *The Lombard Communes*, p. 113.

decided that it did not become it "to obey the haughty Teutons."[1] After it had had to suffer various grievances, some real and some no doubt imaginary, it broke out into open rebellion in the beginning of the year 1159. In April it was once again under the ban of the Empire, and soon beheld Frederick ravaging its territories. For some time this was all he was able to do, as the greater part of his feudal forces had returned to Germany, and until their return he dare not attack Milan itself.

Strained relations between Frederick and Hadrian. i. The see of Ravenna.

Meanwhile, Frederick was making another enemy besides the communes of Lombardy; he was driving Pope Hadrian to throw in his lot with the rebel cities of north Italy. Death unfortunately was busy about this time in removing from the emperor's side men who, while thoroughly loyal to him, were also devoted sons of the Church, and were able to exercise some restraining influence over him when the Holy See was the object of his attack. The great Abbot Wibald had died in July 1158, and before the year closed Frederick's uncle, the historian, Bishop Otto of Frising, had breathed his last while reaffirming his profession of the Catholic faith according to the rule of the holy Roman Church.[2] On August 12, 1158, had also died Anselm, archbishop of Ravenna, and, as he signed himself, "exarch of the same city (*civitas*)," whose strenuous assertion at Constantinople of the prerogatives of the Pope we had occasion to mention above. Anxious to have a useful partisan in such an important see as that of Ravenna, Frederick asked the Pope to allow Guido, the son of the

[1] "Mediolanus . . . .
Federa, que duro pepigit cum rege coactus,
Deserit, indignum reputans servire superbis
Teutonicis seva ditione prementibus ipsum."
Gesta di Fed., v. 2698 ff.

[2] "Seque catholicæ fidei assertorem juxta S. Romanæ, immo et universalis æcclesiæ regulam professus est." Rahewin, iv. 14, al. 11.

count of Biandrate, to occupy it, as he had been duly elected by the whole Church of Ravenna. The emperor was anxious for Guido, as the young man's father, though acting with him, had great influence with the Lombard cities. But, even when asking for a favour, he could not avoid insinuating that he was giving a command; and this he did by violating the diplomatic etiquette of the day, and putting his own name before that of the Pope in the address of his letter.[1] Taking no notice of this at the time, Hadrian, who wished to retain Guido in his service for the very same reasons that Frederick wanted to have the young man in his, replied that he had shown favour to Guido at the emperor's particular request, and that, because the young man's high qualities, as well as those of his noble and powerful parents would be of great value to the Roman Church, he had assigned a church to him, though he was not yet a deacon. Hence, he concluded, it would doubtless be to the advantage both of the emperor and of the young man himself if he were retained for advancement in the Roman Church.[2]

ii. A quarrel between Brescia and Bergamo.

Rahewin pretends that for this refusal the emperor ordered his notaries, when writing to Hadrian in his name, to place that of the Pope after his, and to address him in the second person singular instead of plural.[3] But, as

[1] Ep., ap. *P. L.*, t. 188, p. 1642. "Fridericus Dei gratia Romanorum imperator, et semper Augustus, Adriano R. E. venerabili pontifici." Hence Cardinal Henry of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, writing to Eberhard, bishop of Bamberg, calls his attention to this as a sign that the emperor was departing from those arrangements concerning peace between the Church and himself which he made with the cardinal both in Germany and recently (*altera die*) again in Italy. He speaks of the emperor's letters "quæ videlicet nec stilum nec antiquam consuetudinem imperialium litterarum obtinebant." Ap. Rahewin, iv. 22, al. 19.

[2] Ep. 197. "Tam pretiosum pignus, juxta petitionem excellentiæ tuæ, non potuimus removere." In the end, however, Frederick got his way, and Guido died (1169) archbishop of Ravenna.

[3] IV. 21, al. 18.

Photo N.P.G.

The Bronze Gate of the Cathedral of Ravello.

we have just seen, he had already put his name before the Pope's in his first letter to him on the subject of Guido.

It was really another cause of discontent with the Pope which urged Frederick to give this undignified instruction to his chancellary. And, according to Eberhard,[1] bishop of Bamberg, writing to Cardinal Henry, but professing not to wish to try to palliate what was incapable of being excused,[2] this cause was a letter written by the Pope to the emperor, which was delivered in an insolent manner by a fellow in rags (*pannosus*), who disappeared immediately after presenting it. In addition to this, the letter itself, which concerned a dispute between the cities of Brescia and Bergamo, "appeared to be harsh in tone, and to threaten the emperor with an interdict if he ventured himself to pass any decision on the case."[3]

Unfortunately, the letter alluded to by the bishop is no longer extant, so that there is no means of judging what right the Pope may have had to write to the emperor in the style noted by Eberhard; but there is evidently some exaggeration with regard to the bearer of the missive. We know too much of the prudent and diplomatic character of Hadrian to believe that he would have prejudiced any case by an insolent delivery of a letter. It is possible that the bearer of the document was a monk, who from fear or from ignorance of what was expected of a papal messenger, may have been unwilling to remain in the imperial residence

[1] He was distinguished for his learning, his virtue, and his favour with the emperor. *Ib.*, iv. 32, al. 29.

[2] "Hæc autem scribo vobis, non ut quæram palliare quæ pallianda non sunt, sed ut vos et alii prudentes . . . facilius morbo subveniatis. . . . More solito scribantur litteræ, adjuvante Domino." Ap. Rahewin, iv. 22, al. 19.

[3] "Quæ (the letter) videbantur duriores et quasi interdicti vim in se continentes, ne d. imperator causæ illius judicium sibi assumeret." *Ib.*

after he had surrendered the letter with which he had been entrusted.

However this may be, the bishop, after expressing his detestation of those who are sowing discord between the Empire and the priesthood (*regnum et sacerdotium*), implores the cardinal to send worthy messengers who shall be bearers of peace. "You know the character of the emperor," he added in conclusion; "he loves those who love him, and is distant to those who are distant to him, for he has not yet quite learned to love even his enemies."[1] At the same time he wrote to the Pope to express his fear lest serious trouble might arise out of the existing wordy warfare. "The emperor your son is, as you know, our lord (*dominus*), but you, like Christ, are our teacher and lord (*magister et dominus*). It is not for any of us to ask why you say this or do that."[2] Still, he ventures to suggest to the Pope that it is better to put out a fire at once than to stand discussing from what source it is coming. Hence he implores the Pope to write a plain, straightforward letter to the emperor recalling him to himself in a fatherly manner, and he assures him that he will find the emperor ready to show him due reverence.

iii. Frederick and the States of the Church.

Besides this interference of the Pope in the quarrel between Brescia and Bergamo, Rahewin insinuates that Hadrian had been detected urging Milan and other cities to further rebellion.[3] But he only mentions this as a report, and the letters he proceeds to quote in connection with the rumour, viz., those which have just been discussed,

[1] Rahewin, *ib.*

[2] *Ib.*, iv. 22, al. 20. "Ipse filius vester, sicut nostis, dominus noster est, vos autem, quomodo Christus, magister et dominus. Nemo nostrum audet dicere hinc vel inde, cur hoc facitis aut dicitis."

[3] *Ib.*, iv. 21, al. 18. "Ut quædam litteræ deprehensæ *dicerentur* a sede apostolica directæ, quæ Mediolanenses et quasdam alias civitates rursus ad defectionem hortarentur."

make no reference to such a charge against the Pope. However, if hitherto Hadrian had had no connection with the opposition offered to Frederick by some of the Lombard cities, the latter's high-handed action with regard to the crown-rights (*regalia*) assigned to him by the deputies at Roncaglia, was soon to force the Pope to make common cause with the cities which were in revolt.

In his exaction of the *regalia* Frederick appears to have acted as though he were the immediate lord of the States of the Church, or at least of the lands of the Countess Matilda. He seems to have lost sight of the truth that he was the Protector and not the direct ruler of the Patrimony of St. Peter; and to such an extent did he lose sight of it, that one historian plainly says that, "in violation of law and reason, he seized certain possessions of Blessed Peter."[1]

The diet of Bologna, 1159.

To protest against Frederick's action there appeared before the assembly, which in April 1159 placed Milan under the ban of the Empire, four cardinals, viz., the ambitious Octavian, Henry, William, cardinal-deacon, formerly archdeacon of Pavia, and Guido of Crema. At any rate, such is the assertion of our chief authority Rahewin. Unfortunately, however, the worthy canon is a very much inferior historian to his patron and precursor, Bishop Otto; and if he succeeds in making it plain that he has no eyes for the faults of Barbarossa, he does not succeed in stating facts with clearness. In the present instance he states that four legates were sent by the Pope,[2]

[1] *Gesta abbat. Trud., contin.*, ii. n. 7, an. 1159, ap. *M. G. SS.*, x. p. 347, or *P. L.*, t. 173. Frederick, says this author, "quasdam b. Petri possessiones sine judicio et ratione occupasse." *Cf.* ep. of Alexander III. (April 1, 1160) to Arnulf of Lisieux: "Patrimonium b. Petri violenter invasit"; and the claims of Hadrian against the emperor.

[2] IV. 34.

and then gives us a number of undated letters which he says refer to this legation, and which not only speak of but two legates (Octavian and William), but do not all appear to be connected with one set of negotiations.

Hadrian's claims.

The first letter which he cites for our enlightenment is one from Eberhard, bishop of Bamberg, to his namesake the archbishop of Salzburg. Most unfortunately, he does not quote any letter of Hadrian in connection with these negotiations, nor, apparently, have any been preserved elsewhere, so that we cannot hear the Pope speaking in his own behalf.

The bishop, in the beginning of his letter, professed himself very much troubled by the state of affairs; for he feared, he said, an immediate rupture between the Empire and the Papacy.[1] He then proceeded to set forth the claims put forward by Hadrian, which he regarded as a fruitful source of future trouble.

Unhappily, we do not know what those claims were in the Pope's own words. Though Eberhard, when enumerating them, dubbed them "excessive (*durissima*)," they make it plain that Frederick had been acting as the immediate ruler of the papal territories. Hadrian, for instance, claimed that the emperor should not send envoys to Rome without his knowledge, as the government of Rome (*omnis magistratus inibi*) and its *regalia* belonged to him. Purveyance (*fodrum*) was not to be demanded from the papal states (*de dominicalibus apostolici*) except on the occasion of the imperial coronation, and the bishops of Italy were to take to the emperor not the more solemn oath of homage or vassalage, but only that of fealty or allegiance. Finally, there must be restored to the Roman Church Tivoli, Ferrara, Massa (in Tuscany?), Ficorolii

[1] "Tempora periculosa instare videntur, et prope est, ut inter regnum et sacerdotium moveatur discordia." *Ib.*

(Fiscaglia),[1] all the country of the Countess Matilda, all the territory from Acquapendente (the town of the *dripping waters*, in the north of the modern province of Latium) to Rome, the duchy of Spoleto, and the islands of Sardinia and Corsica.

In the discussion which ensued on these claims, Frederick declared that, since he was Roman emperor by the will of God (*divina ordinatione*), he would be but a shadow of a prince, and bear an empty name, if jurisdiction over the city of Rome were taken from him.[2]

According to the letter we are following, Frederick at last offered to submit all these claims to arbitration if the cardinals would do the same.[3] They, however, said that they had not been empowered to bind the Pope, and then in turn listened to the complaints of the emperor. They were that the Pope had not observed the treaty of Constance (1153), as he had made peace with the Romans and the Normans without the imperial assent;[4] that cardinals were sent through the Empire (*per regnum*) without the emperor's consent; that the Pope heard unjust appeals and many similar things.

When these points had been submitted to the legates, they made haste to submit them to the Pope, and to ask him to send fresh cardinals to arrange matters. But to this, convinced as he doubtless was of the emperor's

[1] Or is it "Massæ Ficorolii," Massa Fiscaglia, some fifteen to twenty miles due east of Ferrara? According to Innocent III., the whole duchy of Tuscany (*ducatus Tusciæ*) was subject to the suzerainty of the Roman Church—"ad jus et dominium Ecclesiæ Rom. pertineat." *Epp. Reg.*, i. 15.

[2] Rahewin, iv. 35.

[3] *Cf.* Rahewin himself, iv. 36.

[4] *Supra*, p. 44 ff. Apart from the fact that the emperor had made no efforts in the Pope's behalf against either the Romans or the king of Sicily, it must be borne in mind that Eugenius did not bind himself not to make peace with the Romans or Normans without the emperor's consent.

intention to persevere in the policy he had begun, Hadrian refused to comply.[1]

The Senate strives to gain the emperor's support.

Meanwhile, hoping to make capital out of the discord between Hadrian and Frederick, the Romans sent to the latter ambassadors who this time were favourably received. However, at the request of the cardinals, the emperor decided to send envoys to Rome in order, if possible, to make peace with the Pope; but, if not with the Pope, then with the Senate and the Romans.[2]

Somewhat later, whilst the emperor was laying siege to Crema, an ally of the Milanese, the Romans, by way of improving the occasion, sent a second embassy to him. Though they apologised for their outbreak at the time of the emperor's coronation, attributing it to a few wicked persons, they did not fail to repeat that they were the source of Frederick's imperial power. With a view to being able to bring greater pressure on the Pope, Frederick listened graciously to the boastful Romans, gave them great presents, and sent back in their company Otho of Wittlesbach and other envoys. The instructions they had received were to come to terms with the Romans regarding their Senate, and the reception of an (imperial)

[1] Rahewin, iv. 34. *Cf. ib.*, 36, al. 31, *init.*

[2] *Ib.*, iv. 34. A little later (iv. 36, al. 31) Rahewin cites a letter of the emperor to Eberhard of Salzburg as referring to this same matter. In it Frederick speaks of an embassy of *two* cardinals, though he does not say that they came to prefer complaints, but declares that they came to state that the Pope wished for the confirmation of the concordat of Constance (1153), agreed to between Eugenius and Frederick himself. This, the emperor continues, we refused to grant, on the ground that Hadrian had broken it by making peace with Sicily without our consent. It is possible that this embassy may have come somewhat later than the first embassy, also of two cardinals. We should thus have the four cardinal ambassadors spoken of by Rahewin. In other respects, this letter of the emperor confirms what has been set forth in the text, except that it adds that the Roman envoys were very indignant "at the new claims" put forth by the Pope.

prefect, and, if possible, to make peace with the Pope. Well received by the Senate and people, the envoys at once opened negotiations with Hadrian, who had retired to Anagni in June, and, whilst the Romans were busy talking about the ancient glories of Rome, conducted themselves like kings, and contrived to make themselves the centre of affairs.[1]

Alliance between the Pope and certain Lombard cities, 1159.

Hitherto, though he had made it sufficiently evident to Frederick that he would not allow him to ride rough-shod over his rights, Hadrian had confined himself to efforts to make peace between the rival Lombard cities[2] and to verbal expostulation with the emperor. Convinced, however, at length that, by his arbitrary dealings with the cities which opposed him, by his utter disregard of papal rights over the inheritance of Matilda, and by his alliance with the rebellious Romans, Barbarossa's absolutism would stop at nothing, Hadrian decided to join his spiritual sword to the insurgent arms of north Italy. Whilst Frederick was still trying to reduce heroic Crema, Milan made an alliance with Brescia and Piacenza, and sent ambassadors to Hadrian to beg him to cement their league by his adhesion (*c.* August 1159). The allies undertook not to come to any agreement with the emperor without

[1] Rahewin, iv. 49, al. 41. "Molientibus illis more suo antiquum Romanæ urbis fastum, regales se in nullo passi sunt inferiores inveniri, immo et ad se sepius veniri, quam ut illis occurrerent, obtinuerunt (the imperial envoys)." No notice has been taken of the letter which, according to the *Aquicinctina continuatio* of Sigebert's chronicle, Hadrian is said to have sent to Frederick from *Prænestе* on June 24, nor of the intemperate reply which the emperor is said to have returned to it. But, as will have been noticed in connection with Frederick's second marriage, the authority of the *Continuatio* is not great; and the documents are now allowed to be mere *dictamina*, *i.e.*, scholastic exercises. *Cf.* Jaffé, †10575 (7121).

[2] Besides what has already been said, *cf.* the exertions of two of Hadrian's legates to make peace between Milan and Cremona in 1157, as described by Otto Morena, p. 999, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi.

the consent of Hadrian or his successors, whilst on his side, though he did not confirm his promise on oath, Hadrian agreed to excommunicate Frederick within forty days.[1]

It appears also that William of Sicily was a partner to the league against Frederick, and that, with the consent

[1] Our authority for this alliance is the contemporary Milanese narrative, now known as the *Libellus tristicie*, but formerly ascribed to Sire Raoul, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. p. 1183. The *Chronicon de rebus in Italia gestis* speaks to the same effect, but its words are *verbatim* those of the *Libellus*. Piacenza produced two chronicles in the thirteenth century which were first edited by Huillard-Bréholles (Paris, 1856) under the names of *Chronicon Placentinum* (1012–1235), and *Chron. de rebus in Italia gestis*. They were re-edited by Pertz, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xviii., as *Annales Placentini Guelfi*, and *A. P. Gibellini* respectively, because the first was written in the interests of the party (the ecclesiastical) afterwards called that of the Guelfs, and the second in those of the imperial (later called Ghibelline) party. The preface of Holder-Egger's most recent edition of the former (ap. *SS. rer. Ger. in usum schol.*, Hanover and Leipzig, 1901) shows that it was really the work of the notary John Codagnellus (or Caput agni, Lambshead, Co—for *capo* in the Lombard dialect—d'agnello), who died probably not long after 1235. His annals, which are wholly original after the year 1189, are of the first importance ; and though he was an ardent partisan, Holder-Egger acquits him of ever "knowingly and wittingly" deviating from the truth, except under the year 1226, when he gives the story of the excommunication of Frederick II. At the same time his editor warns us to be on our guard against what he wrote "when blinded by party zeal" (p. xiv).

The author of the Ghibelline Annals of P. (1154–1284) is thought by some to have been Mutius of Monza, captain of the people of Piacenza in 1294. This writer is regarded as less biased than the other Italian annalists of the period.

The intention of Hadrian to excommunicate the emperor is also affirmed by the *Chron. regia Coloniensis*, sub an. 1157 : "Papa, audito imperatoris adventu . . . Roma discedens (August 1) . . . consilium habuerit ut d. imperatorem excommunicaret." *Cf.* also B. and C. *Ursperg. Chron.*, pp. 36, 38 (Burchard quotes a Cremonese author who professed to have his information from men in the league against Frederick); Godfrey of Viterbo, *Gesta Frid.*, c. 12, p. 314; and Gerhoh of Reich., *De investig. Antichristi*, i. 56, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, iii. p. 367 ; *cf.* p. 371.

of all the cardinals except four,[1] Hadrian sent him "the banner of Blessed Peter" by the hands of his chancellor, Cardinal Roland.[2] That William should thus join with the Pope against Frederick was to have been expected, considering that, since the Treaty of Benevento (1156), Hadrian had been engaged in loyally supporting the Sicilian king against the Greeks. Manuel Comnenus, not content to see Byzantine influence banished from Italy, but determined if possible to regain a footing in the peninsula, directed several expeditions against its Adriatic coast. Partly by diplomatic understandings with Frederick and partly by gold and force, he obtained possession of various cities both in localities dependent upon the Empire and in districts belonging to William. Hadrian at first endeavoured to make peace between Manuel and William, and the Greek historian Nicetas Choniates[3] tells of an embassy of the Pope "of old Rome" appearing in Constantinople to bring this about (1157). Though the ambassadors were favourably received, fighting went on, and we next find Hadrian endeavouring by prohibition and anathema to stop the progress of the Greeks, who were separated from the Church, and exhorting his people to help the Normans who were its members.[4]

The Lombard envoys found Hadrian at Anagni, a town he was not destined to leave. He was taken suddenly ill Death of Hadrian 1159.

[1] Imarus of Tusculum, Octavian, Guido of Cremona, and John of St. Martin.

[2] Sigebert, *Chron. contin. Aquicinct.*, an. 1158; and *Ursperg. Chron.*, p. 36 (Burchard pretends that "an immense sum of money was given to Hadrian to excommunicate the emperor").

[3] This senator wrote his history of the Comneni about 1204. *Chron.*, ii. 8.

[4] John Cinnamus, whose history was followed by Nicetas, was secretary to Manuel. *Hist.*, iv. 14. On Manuel's spasmodic attacks on Italy, see Chalandon, *Hist. de la dominat. Normande en Italie*, vol. ii. ch. 8.

with quinsy, and died before the expiration of the forty days in the evening of the feast of St. Giles (September 1, 1159).[1]

An election compact among the cardinals?

According to the emperor and other Teutonic authorities who favoured the party of the antipope Victor IV.,[2] Roland and the other cardinals who supported Milan agreed, before the death of Hadrian, to elect as his successor only one who would be true to his policy. As will be set forth more at length when the troubled election of Alexander III. is treated of, it does indeed seem not unlikely that there was at least an understanding among many of the cardinals that Octavian should not be elected. But whether there was an election compact or not, there was certainly some difficulty about the choice of a burial-place for Hadrian.

The body of Hadrian is removed to Rome, and buried in St. Peter's.

It would appear that, with a view to having the election of his successor held at Anagni, and not at Rome where the power of the emperor's envoys was supreme, many of the cardinals wished to have the body of the late Pope buried at Anagni. But when the news of the death of Hadrian reached Rome, a very great number of people,

[1] "Qua jacet astricta nullo medicamine victa,
Colla tument, moritur, werra pro pace relicta."
Godfrey of Viterbo, *l.c.*

Cf. a letter of Eberhard of Bamberg (Hadrian "qui anginæ dolore defecisse dicitur"), ap. Watterich, ii. 454; William of Tyre, *Hist.*, xviii. 26, "morbo squinanciæ defuncto." The imperialist Burchard (*Ursperg. Chron.*, p. 30), writing somewhat *later*, states as the cause of Hadrian's death an absurd *report* ("*ut dicitur* musca os ejus intravit," etc.) that he was choked by a fly. No strictly contemporary author mentions the fly, and many (ap. Jaffé, sub 10583) speak of his death, giving its date quite correctly.

[2] Ep. Frid. to the archbishop of Salzburg and others (February 14, 1160, ap. Rahewin, iv. 79, al. 69): "Rolandus . . . et quidam cardinales . . . juramenti vinculo invicem sese constrixerunt, ut defuncto papa, nullus alius ei substitueretur, nisi qui in eadem conspiratione cum eis convenissent." *Cf.* the manifesto of Victor's cardinals, ap. *ib.*, 62, al. 52; *Usperg. Chron.*, p. 38; *Chron. reg. Colon.*, sub an. 1157; *Gesta abb. Trid., cont.*, ii. n. 7, ap. *M. G. SS.*, x. p. 347.

Photo Alinari

A Third Century Sarcophagus which was used as the Tomb of Hadrian IV.,
and which is now in the Crypt of St. Peter's.

including the senators, at once set out for Anagni. By their influence all opposition was beaten down, the cardinals agreed to return to the city, and to hold the election in the usual way, and the body of the deceased pontiff was solemnly conveyed to Rome.[1] After it had been laid in an ancient sarcophagus of red Egyptian granite on which were carved two masks, two flowers, and a garland supported in the centre by the skull of an ox,[2] it was placed near the tomb of Eugenius III. in the oratory of our Lady in St. Peter's.[3] During his brief pontificate Hadrian had won at least the respect of everyone, of friend and of foe alike, and all our authorities agree in telling of the honourable funeral that was accorded him (September 4). "Nearly all the cardinals (*fratres*)" assisted at it, as did also the imperial ambassadors.[4]

Praises of Hadrian.

The mingled feelings of respect and love with which the fearless Englishman was regarded by the Romans were shared in different degrees by the rest of Christendom,

[1] On Hadrian's death "convenit illico maxima multitudo, cum quibus et senatores affuerunt, quorum consilio corpus Romam delatum est." Ep. of the canons of St. Peter's to Frederick, ap. Rahewin, iv. 76 (66). *Cf.* the encyclical of Victor's cardinals, *ib.*, c. 62 (52), and a letter of Eberhard of Bamberg, ap. Watterich, ii. 454. "A quibusdam familiaribus d. imperatoris annuntiatum est quod ab his, qui senatores dicuntur, d. Papæ sepultura non conceditur, quoadusque cardinales in urbe conveniant, et exequiis rite celebratis in electione ordine canonico procedant." More will be said about the agreement among the cardinals when the election of Alexander III. is narrated.

[2] Dufresne, *Les cryptes vaticanes*, p. 81. The sole inscription on the tomb is "Hadrianus Papa IIII." Tarleton, p. 246, somewhat fancifully it is to be feared, supposes the animal's skull to be that of a deer, "the sign of St. Albans," and the flowers to be roses "to represent England." The garland with the ox head is quite a common classical form of ornamentation. See, *e.g.*, plates 26 and 96 in vol. ii. of the *Papers of the British School at Rome*, London, 1904.

[3] Boso, and Peter Mallius, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 397 n.

[4] Ep. of Alex. III. to the archbishop of Genoa (September 26, 1159). Hadrian "præsentibus fere omnibus fratribus, satis honorifice tumulato." *Cf.* Rahewin, iv. 52 (43).

and have been so shared ever since. His death, writes his intimate friend, John of Salisbury, "has perturbed all the peoples and nations of the Christian faith, but it has stirred our England which gave him birth with grief still more bitter, and has watered our country with more abundant tears. His death was a cause of sorrow to all good men, but to none more than to me."[1]

This touching testimony borne to the worth of Hadrian by his bosom friend has been echoed by his fellow-countrymen to this day, and even by those whose religious beliefs are not the same as his. "His life," writes Mr. Tarleton, "may be placed with the highest of those known to us for strength, honesty, and purity of motive. It is by studying the lives of men like him that we feel the influence which they leave behind them to succeeding generations. They teach us in grand simple language not to despair if the way seems hard and weary, but to step boldly out on our journey, remembering that lofty motive and high ideal will lead us on, and bring their reward."[2]

The eulogies which have been passed on Hadrian by his fellow-countrymen are repeated by the stranger. Noting that he "was shrewd, practical, and unyielding as Anglo-Saxons are wont to be," the German Gregorovius, though crediting him with arrogance, tells us that "his natural endowments were increased by the greatness to which his own merits had raised him, by knowledge of the world, and by a praiseworthy strength of character."[3]

Present resting-place of Hadrian's tomb.

During the course of the demolition of old St. Peter's in 1607, the archæologist Grimaldi very fortunately took

[1] *Metalogicus*, iv. 42.

[2] P. 256 f. *Cf.* Mackie, p. 122 ff. He closes his work thus: "It was at the feet of Alexander III. (one trained in Hadrian's school) that Frederick Barbarossa fell, but the papal triumph . . . was due in no small measure to the efforts of Adrian IV."

[3] *Rome*, iv. pt. ii., p. 560.

notes of the opening and subsequent fate of the more important tombs which had accumulated there in the course of over a thousand years. When the sarcophagus of Hadrian was opened, his body was found entire, and clad in a silk chasuble of a dark colour, and is described as that of "an undersized man, wearing slippers of Turkish make, and a ring with a large emerald."[1] After the closing of the tomb, it was placed in the crypt of the new basilica, where it may still be seen and examined by the aid of the electric light.

Whilst casting a last look at the enduring monument that encloses the remains of the great English Pope, we may recall the still more enduring monument which he has left behind him in the hearts of the Norwegian people, typified to-day by the bust to "The good Bishop Nicholas," which they have set up in their elegant cathedral at Trondhjem.[2]

[1] Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 145. *Cf.* Pagi, *Vitæ RR. PP.*, iii. 40.

[2] So I am informed by Commander Tarleton.

CHAPTER V.

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND THE GREEK CHURCH.

The Byzantine emperor of Constantinople, and the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

ALTHOUGH the greater part of Hadrian's activity was taken up with Frederick and the Western Empire, he had also relations with Manuel I., Comnenus, and the Eastern Empire. He had at one time or another to face the hostility of both these claimants to the inheritance of the one and undivided sway of Old Rome. Naturally rivals, inasmuch as each considered himself the true heir of the Cæsars, Frederick, the head of the Holy Roman Empire, and Manuel, the autocrat of New Rome on the Bosphorus, could at times become allies, when each supposed that mutual friendship was to his advantage. Fortunately for the temporal position of the Papacy, the rivalry of the Byzantine and German emperors was more deep-seated and enduring than their friendship. Hence, though there was much negotiation between Manuel and Frederick with a view to the formation of a permanent alliance between them, they were more often foes than friends. And, during the short pontificate of Hadrian, their disagreements were much more in evidence than their agreements. The normal attitude of these two greatest rulers of the civilised world towards each other, especially when ambition was more than ordinarily aflame in either of them, may best be estimated from a letter which Frederick addressed to his rival. Calling himself "The ruler (moderator) of the Greeks," he says: "The happy fortune (*victoria*) of our imperial predecessors, of godlike memory, obtained by

the divine grace the monarchy of the city of Rome, and they have, generation after generation, powerfully transmitted this monarchy to us. Hence not only ought the Roman Empire to be subject to our sway, but the kingdom of the Greeks ought also to be submissive to our pleasure (*nutum*), and subject to our empire. Moreover, as the King of kings, from whom all power flows, has made the Roman Empire the head of the whole earth, so also has He ordained that the see of the Roman Church shall be the only Mother, Queen, and Mistress of all the Churches. That these things are so, the very founder of the Christian faith openly proclaimed by the figure of the two swords which he declared to be sufficient." The letter concluded with a warning to Manuel "to pay due honour to us and to the Roman Empire, and to offer reverential obedience to the supreme Pontiff."[1]

Policy of the Eastern emperors towards the Western Empire and the Papacy.

About the same time that they subdued this country, the Normans finally extinguished the Byzantine authority in south Italy (1071). Not content with that, they were not slow to attack the very heart of the Byzantine Empire itself. In the Normans, therefore, the Basileus at Constantinople found a more aggressive foe than the emperor of the Romans. Moreover, while he dreaded the Normans and affected to despise the *king* of the Germans, he was at times, either when he was specially angry with the upstart Western emperor, or when he had been stirred up by his Patriarch, animated by no little hatred of the Popes, who had created the Roman Empire of the West. At

[1] "Sicut . . . rex regum . . . Romanum imperium caput totius orbis constituit, ita etiam sedem Romanæ ecclesiæ omnium ecclesiarum matrem unicam dominamque et magistram ordinavit." Quoted by Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, p. 111 f., Berlin, 1903. This letter was written in 1177. Norden appears to us to be a rather verbose writer who does not adduce sufficient authority for many of his statements.

enmity, then, with Pope, emperor, and king, the Basileus strove to play them off one against another. Accordingly he made alliances with any of them, or sent money to any of them just as it suited his interest at the moment. But as the Pope was not to be dreaded as an aggressive foe, the normal policy of the rulers of Constantinople was to cultivate his friendship. This they did sometimes by sending him armed assistance or money when he was in military difficulties, but more generally by holding out to him the prospect of the union of the Greek with the Latin Church. They were well aware that the Roman Pontiffs had this more at heart than anything else. Never, therefore, when they desired the friendship of the Popes, did they hestitate, whether they were in earnest or whether they were not, to proclaim their ardent desire to effect an immediate union between the two Churches. The Basileus by the Bosphorus was, however, happiest when he heard that there was misunderstanding between the emperor and the Pope, or between the Pope and the kingdom of Sicily. He knew it was good to fish in troubled waters, and he seldom failed to do so.

Sometimes the Popes accepted the proffered help of the Byzantine rulers; but if at times, distrusting the gifts brought by the Greeks, they would not accept their assistance, they were at all times ready to negotiate with them for the union of the two Churches.

The ecclesiastical schism between Rome and Constantinople.

When in 1054 the legates of Pope St. Leo IX. excommunicated Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, neither the Greeks nor the Latins realised that they had definitely severed the Greeks from the unity of the Church of Christ. Rome had frequently before excommunicated patriarchs of Constantinople, and there had often before been schisms between the Byzantine Church and the West. But on previous occasions, after a greater or less interval,

the Church of Constantinople had always submitted. After 1054, then, the breach between the Greeks and the Westerns was for a time not great, though Cerularius did his best to widen it. Still, after all his efforts, the general feeling remained that the schism was not serious, and would be soon healed. It is clear that in the year 1088 the emperor Alexius I. did not think that anything serious separated the two Churches, for he asked Pope Urban II. to come to Constantinople with some learned Latins to discuss the situation, so that "the one Church of God might have one practice" in the matter of celebrating Mass with the same kind of bread, leavened or unleavened, as might be decided upon.[1] He evidently supposed that they were questions of ritual and not of faith which divided the Churches.

The Crusades, unfortunately, instead of uniting East and West, introduced fresh causes of political friction between them. The strained political situation aggravated the bitterness of religious feeling, and, though the emperors of Constantinople, realising the irresistible advance of the Turks, were, for the sake of the material assistance which they hoped from the West, in the main really desirous of effecting religious union between the Greeks and the Latins, the mass of the Greek clergy and people who suffered from the Crusaders' roughness, were steadily becoming more and more radically opposed to it.

In a council held at Constantinople in the year 1169, under the fanatical patriarch Michael III., Anchialus (1169–1177), on the occasion of a number of Latin bishops being in the city, the increasing bitterness of Greek feeling against the Latins found vent. The envoys of Pope Alexander III. had only asked that the Greeks

[1] Geof. Malaterra, *Hist. Sic.*, iv. 13, ap. *P. L.*, t. 149.

should recognise the primacy of the Pope and his right of receiving appeals, and should commemorate him in the liturgy. Though these claims were solidly founded on the practice of antiquity, Michael would not grant them, but declared that the Pope had fallen from the chief priesthood "by reason of the Latin heresy," and that he stood in need of a physician. Then, according to Macarius of Ancyra, "the emperor, the council, and the whole Senate gave their vote in favour of a total separation from the Pope. . . . But it was not thought proper to consign (the Latins), a great and distinguished nation, to formal anathema, like other heresies, even while repudiating union and communion with them."[1] But Macarius was a *fifteenth*-century writer, and it is wholly unlikely, from all that is known of Manuel's policy from contemporary evidence, that he, at any rate, would openly reject communion with the Latins.

The two empires, Sicily and Rome, when Hadrian became Pope, 1154.

When Hadrian became Pope, the treaty of Constance made between his predecessor and Barbarossa was in force (March 1153). By its terms a close union of the Papacy of the Western Empire had been effected, inasmuch as it provided that neither of the contracting parties was to treat with the Greek king, as he was called, or with the King of Sicily without the consent of the other. Both parties were, moreover, to act against the Greeks should they endeavour to get a footing in Italy.[2]

[1] *Cf.* L. Allatius, *De eccles. occident. et orient. perpet. cons.*, ii. c. 12, p. 664, quoting from a dialogue of Michael, and from Macarius. See also Hergenröther, *Hist. de l'église*, iv. 148 f.; Hefele, *Conc.*, vii. 473; and Ffoulkes, *Christendom's Divisions*, ii. p. 137. Chalandon notes that the learned Russian Loparev has published Michael's *Dialogue* in the *Viz. Vremennik*, t. xiv. p. 344 ff.

[2] Frederick engaged: "Grecorum quoque *regi* nullam terram ex ista parte maris concedet; quodsi forte ille invaserit . . . ipsum eicere curabit." Eugenius on his side undertook: "*Regi* autem Grecorum ex ista parte maris terram non concedet; quodsi ille invadere

Although in the interval between the conclusion of this treaty and the accession of Hadrian, negotiations concerning marriage and alliance were carried on between Frederick and the Emperor Manuel,[1] it does not appear that the terms of the treaty were actually infringed. With his lofty ideas of the position of Roman emperor to which he aspired, Frederick was not prepared to tolerate any other rule in Italy but his own.

The Greek emperor.

But the Emperor Manuel, an ambitious ruler, was determined to re-establish Greek power in Italy. To this resolve he was led not only by the thought of the glory and prestige he would acquire by recovering lost territory, but because he was anxious to strike a blow at the Normans who had driven the Greeks from the Peninsula, and had even threatened their independent existence. Accordingly, he despatched ambassadors to Ancona in the spring of the year 1155 in order, if possible, to unite Frederick and the Pope against his most dreaded foe. Before his coronation (June 18, 1155), Barbarossa would not have listened to them; but the trouble with the Romans which followed it, and the dissolution of his army, brought about by the fever, rendered him disposed to listen to the Greek overtures when he reached Ancona. But, as we have seen,[2] the Princes of the Empire were not to be won over to march against the Normans, either by Greek wiles or by Barbarossa's iron will.

The Greeks try to obtain the help of the Pope.

Though, then, the Byzantine envoys had thus failed to

presumpserit, d. Papa viribus b. Petri eum eicere curabit." Inter epp. Wibald., n. 407, ap. Jaffé, *Bib. rer. Germ.*, i. p. 546. *Cf.* also a further document on the same subject, ap. Theiner, *Cod. dom. S. Sedis*, i. 15 f. Both documents are given in Doeberl, *Mon. Germ. Selecta*, 4 Bänd., p. 78 ff.

[1] Epp. Wibald., 424, Nov. 22, 1153, and 432 (1154). *Cf.* Cinnamus, *Hist.*, iv. 1, p. 134 f., ed. Bonn.

[2] *Supra*, p. 39 f.

secure the co-operation of Frederick against the Normans, they did not the less cease to strive to obtain the support of the Pope who was preparing to march against their foes and his own in the autumn of the same year (1155).[1] If we are to follow the authority of William of Tyre, the negotiations between the Greeks and the Pope ended in a complete understanding between them. With the large sums of money which they had brought with them, the Greek envoys raised an army, invaded Apulia,[2] and sent one of their agents with money to the Pope.[3] Hadrian's forces took the field against the Normans in September (1155).

William overcomes both the Greeks and the Pope.

However, despite the fact that, as the campaign proceeded, troops were sent from Constantinople to support those hired by Manuel's agents in Italy,[4] the Sicilian king, as we have already noted, managed to defeat both them and the Pope with his Norman allies (April–May 1156).[5]

Hadrian has to abandon the Greek alliance.

This success of the Normans would appear to have made Frederick, for a time at least, anxious to come to an understanding with the Greeks. Seeing this,[6] and also that he was steadily becoming more and more hostile to Italy and to every power in it, Hadrian, like his predecessors, found it necessary to draw closer to the Normans. He accordingly endeavoured to make peace between them

[1] *Supra*, p. 43. According to William of Tyre, *Hist.*, xviii. 2, Hadrian had already asked the Greeks for help against William: "Alterum (the emp. of Constantinople) . . . per litteras, sed occulte ad occupandum Siculi regnum sollicitat."

[2] *Ib.*, xviii. 7. "Imperator (Manuel) verbum d. Papæ secutus, immissis de principibus suis, cum infinita pecunia, regionem violenter invasit."

[3] Cinnamus, *Hist.*, iv. 5. Godfrey of Viterbo, *Gesta*, c. 10, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxii. p. 313, alludes to this understanding between Hadrian and the Greeks: "Grecus amicus erit . . . pariter dat federa Grecis."

[4] *Cf.* Chalandon, *Jean II., etc.*, p. 363.

[5] *Supra*, p. 44.

[6] *Cf.* Hadrian's letter to Wibald of Jan. 19, 1157, in which he displays anxiety about negotiations which Frederick was said to be carrying on with the Greeks.

Photo N.P.G.

The Cathedral of Ravello.

and the Greeks.[1] But he soon discovered that the latter were simply bent on pushing forward their own interests at all costs, and were even negotiating with the rebellious Romans for the hiring of troops. It was in vain that Hadrian forbade his people to come to any understanding with the Greeks, urging, so says the Greek historian Cinnamus, that New Rome had no claim on Old Rome, as it had for a long time been in a state of schism (*πάλαι ἀπορραγεισῶν*). Help ought rather, continued the Pope, to be given to the king of Sicily. He was one with them; and besides, it was not chivalrous not to help a man who was being attacked by one far stronger than himself. But Hadrian's eloquence was to no purpose.[2] As in days long gone by, the Romans, after they had been duly stirred up against the Pope by Manuel's partisans,[3] received the emperor's effigy (*βασίλειόν σημεῖον*) with all honour, and allowed his agent to enlist what troops he could. Thereupon, adds the Greek historian whom we are following, Hadrian excommunicated the party in favour of the Basileus. This had the effect of causing one of their number to return to his allegiance to the Pope. He was, however, promptly expelled from the city by the others, who, says Cinnamus, adopted a barbaric method of preventing any more from following his example. They hoisted the exile's arms and horse to the top of a lofty tree, and then, suddenly releasing the ropes, they suffered the wretched animal with its burden to come crashing to the ground. Alarmed at their violence, Hadrian, against his will, allowed himself to be persuaded

[1] Nicetas Choniates, ii. c. 8, p. 127 f., tells how gladly Manuel received the legates of the bishop (*προέδρου*) of Old Rome. *Cf. supra*, p. 79.

[2] Cinnamus, iv. 14, p. 170 f.

[3] For, says Cinnamus, *l.c.*, it was always part of Manuel's policy to support a party in Rome.

to absolve those whom he had excommunicated. It is again Cinnamus who, writing at a great distance from the scene of action, is responsible for this statement; but it is hard not to feel that it was unlike Hadrian to let an act of violence induce him to do that of which he disapproved.

Whether or not the assertion of the Greek historian is of more value than *a priori* considerations, however strong, Hadrian at any rate definitely allied himself with William, and at length had the pleasure of seeing his efforts to make peace between him and Manuel crowned with success. A thirty years' truce between Sicily and the Byzantine Empire was agreed to (1158) before Hadrian died.[1] And if his successor, Alexander III., was able to subdue the might of Barbarossa, it was largely because he had drawn tight the bonds between Sicily and the Papacy.

The Greek and Latin Churches from Michael Cerularius (1054) to the days of Hadrian.

Some time, however, before this happened, whilst Manuel was still in hopes of winning over Hadrian completely to Byzantine interests, he had seemingly held out hopes of the union between the Greek and Latin Churches.

After the schism of Michael Cerularius, the Popes had never ceased to try to bring the Greeks back to ecclesiastical unity. But while such Popes as Gregory VII. made headway with such emperors as Michael VII., Ducas, new causes of quarrel, engendered by the Crusades, were constantly springing up which more than undid the work which those Popes and emperors had accomplished. The Greeks, who had always looked upon the Latins as an inferior people, now more and more regarded them as heretics also.

Under Alexius I., Comnenus (1081–1118), it seemed as though there was some real wish on the part of the emperor at any rate for reunion. But if, sent as some

[1] *Cf.* Chalandon, *Jean II., etc.*, p. 381. *Cf.* the same author, *Hist. de la domin. Normande*, ii. p. 257.

suppose by Pope Paschal II., Peter Grossolano, archbishop of Milan, endeavoured to explain at Constantinople the doctrine of the Church with regard to the Procession of the Holy Ghost,[1] a crowd of Greek authors wrote about the same time in defence of the doctrine of Photius on that difficult subject, and to attack Papal supremacy. Such were the monks John Phurnès and Euthymius Zigabenus with his famous *Panoplia*, or complete armoury of doctrine; the historians Anna Comnena and Zonaras; and the metropolitan Eustratus of Nicæa.[2]

(Letter of Paschal II. to Alexius I., 1112.)

If Paschal II. did not officially send Grossolano to Constantinople, he certainly did send an important letter to the emperor Alexius I. (1112). He began his letter by thanking God for moving the heart of Alexius to work for the remaking of Catholic unity, and he expressed a hope that, as the Almighty had united the different nations in His Apostles, so He would unite them in him. He realised that he would meet with difficulty in the matter "because our many different people will not easily agree to one point." But the emperor's position is easier, as cleric and lay, high and low all depend upon his goodwill; and of that goodwill he had learnt, he said, both from his letters and from the verbal report of his zealous envoy.[3] "The experience of Your Sagacity," continued the Pope, "knows well what was once the devotion and reverence of the Patriarchs of Constantinople towards the Bishop of Rome." But of late years they and their clergy have so far withdrawn from the love and reverence which they owe to the Roman Church, that they will not receive its

[1] *Cf.* Ceillier, *Hist. des auteurs ecclés.*, xiv. p. 148 f.

[2] *Ib. Cf.* Hergenröther, *Hist. de l'église*, iv. 146.

[3] "Ipse (the envoy) enim legationi vestre totis profecto desideriis instare contendit, utpote qui et vestre fidelitatis studiis et catholicæ unitatis votis totus exestuat." Jaffé, 6334 (4782), quoting from a document (Lib. xiv. c. 6) of the lost register of Paschal.

letters nor communicate with its *apocrisiarii*. . . . The first step towards unity, then, pointed out the Pope, will have been taken when "our brother the Patriarch of Constantinople has acknowledged the Primacy . . . of the Apostolic See," and when the provinces which were taken from it have been restored.[1] The differences in faith and customs between the Latins and the Greeks cannot be settled "till the members adhere to the head." Unless there is obedience, the disagreements of contending parties cannot be settled. "With our and your co-operation," the prelates of the Apostolic Sees must come together at a place and time which we shall have fixed upon, and then, "by the rule of the Holy Scriptures," all occasions of scandal shall be cut off. The place of meeting, said Paschal, he would leave to the emperor; but he would name next October (1113) as a suitable time.

The question of reunion under (1) John Comnenus.

As far as is known, the intercourse between Paschal and Alexius I. on the subject of reunion proceeded no further. Whether it was that the Greeks had no thought of submission to papal supremacy, or whether Alexius was too much occupied with the Crusaders, correspondence on the subject was not seemingly resumed till the reign of his son John II., Comnenus (1118–1143). During the long reign of this able and virtuous monarch, the cause of reunion may be said to have made a step forward. At any rate, a great many letters and envoys, all connected with this important topic, passed between the emperor and the Popes Calixtus II., Honorius II., and Innocent II. (1119–1143).[2] Disputations too, on the subject at Constantinople

[1] Jaffé, *ib.*

[2] Two letters of John II., one to Calixtus II. in June 1124, and one to Honorius II. in April 1126, have been preserved. They have been published, *e.g.*, by Theiner and Miklosich, *Mon. spect. ad union. eccles. G. et Rom.*, p. 1 ff. An account of these transactions will be found in my *Lives of the Popes*, viii. p. 216 ff.

roused great interest both among the Greeks and the Latins,[1] and the patriarch Leo Stypiota (1134–1143) is said to have been well disposed to union.[2]

(2) Manuel Comnenus, and (*a*) Eugenius III.

Still, when Manuel Comnenus succeeded his father John (1143–1180), and Blessed Eugenius III. succeeded Lucius II., not much real progress had been made. Although a letter of the former Pope to Conrad, king of Germany, urging him to strive for the union "of the Church of Constantinople" with "the holy Roman Church,"[3] shows that he was as eager for reunion as his predecessors,[4] his conduct would seem to prove that he had not much hope that letters and embassies would lead to any tangible results in that direction. He had been Pope for over six months when Manuel wrote to him to complain that he had not sent to him either an *apocrisiarius* (legate) or a letter.[5] The words of Eugenius were in accord with his deeds. So little expectation had he that success would follow any efforts which Conrad might make, that he assured Henry, bishop of Moravia, that, if he were not by the king's side, he felt nothing would be accomplished.[6]

(*b*) Hadrian IV.

Manuel was neither as able nor as earnest a man as his father. He did not, however, if only for political reasons, allow the reunion question to drop. Unfortunately, no

[1] *Cf. ib.*, vol. ix. p. 143 ff. for a description of the discussion between Bishop Anselm of Havelberg and Nicetas, archbishop of Nicomedia.

[2] Hergenröther, *l.c.*, p. 147.

[3] Ep. 204 Eug., July 15, 1147, ap. *P. L.*, t. 180.

[4] *Cf.* ep. 214, an. 1147, ap. *ib.*, where he speaks of the union of the Church of Constantinople as a fruit: "mihi et matri omnium Romanæ ecclesiæ fecundissimus."

[5] *Cf.* Manuel's letter, ap. Theiner, *l.c.*, p. 6 f.

[6] Ep. 214. In a letter to Abbot Suger (ep. 390, June 19, 1150) he tells him how distressed he is "at the falling away (or collapse) of the Oriental Church (*pro defectu Orientalis Ecclesiæ*)." This has been supposed to refer to the Greek Church, but it would seem that it has reference to the condition of the Church in Palestine and to the Crusades. *Cf.* my *Lives of the Popes*, ix. p. 187 ff.

letters on this matter between Manuel and Hadrian would seem to have survived to our day, but a fragment of the correspondence between Hadrian and Basil, metropolitan of Acrida, which has reached us, lets us see that the condition of the Greek Church did not escape the ken of him who had received "the care of all the Churches on the face of the earth."

Hadrian's letter to Archbishop Basil.

Wishing health "to his venerable brother the archbishop of Thessalonica," Basil of Acrida, Hadrian wrote[1]: "From the time when, through the envy of the old enemy of mankind, the See of Constantinople cut itself off from the Holy Roman and Apostolic Church—an event of which we can scarcely speak without floods of tears,—and from the time when the poisonous malice of man's enemy separated her children from the obedience due to the mother, and substituted a dual control for unity, the successors of Blessed Peter who have gone before me, have laboured and toiled to remove the schism, and to restore to the unity of the Church those who have been separated from it. We too, who have now, by the will of God, received the care of all the Churches on the face of the earth, are compelled, through greatly wanting in his powers, to take up the ministry of Blessed Peter. This must we do lest, a thing which may God avert, we should be numbered with those blamed by the Lord through His prophet when he said: 'You have not brought back that which had been cast forth; you have not healed the sick; you have not sought that which was lost, and you have not bound up that which had been broken.' Let us then hasten to bring back the children to the unity of the Church, and to find the drachma which has been lost. . . . Hence,

[1] Ep. 198. This letter is not dated, but should no doubt be referred to the beginning of Hadrian's pontificate, as he speaks of "nos, qui hoc tempore apostolicae sedis curam suscepimus."

beloved brother in Christ, we exhort you by these presents to have a great care regarding this matter. For the Church is one, and one is the only ark of salvation in which the faithful can be saved from the deluge. . . . Carefully note that it has been handed down how the holy Fathers, enlightened by the Holy Ghost, decreed that the Holy Roman Church should certainly have (*absolute obtinere*) the Primacy of all the Churches, and laid down that final decision on all matters (*omnium judicium*) was to be referred to its judgment. This they did with a view to removing all cause of divisions and to promoting the unity of the Church, . . . and the salvation of souls. . . . Labour then first with thyself and then with others that divine grace may grant that the flock may be united to the Church, and that those who profess themselves the sheep of the Lord, may return to the flock of Peter who received the care of them from the Lord. In this matter we, who have received the office of pastor of the flock, look not to the praise of to-day, nor do we seek the glory which passes. We confess ourselves the servant of all the servants of God." In concluding this letter, so touchingly sincere, Hadrian begs his correspondent, by the love of God and St. Peter, to assist his beloved sons Baldwin and Balditzionius, monastic notaries (*tabellarii*), who are on their way "to our most beloved son Manuel, emperor of Constantinople."

"We should be glad to have a letter regarding the state of your health," are Hadrian's last words.

Basil's reply.

The reply of Basil shows indeed that he was touched by this earnest appeal, but that he either did not realise the gulf which separated the Greeks from Rome, or was desirous of making the distance which by this time separated the Church of Constantinople from that of Rome seem as short as possible. He says that the Pope's letter shows his boundless charity, and that in it he has

recognised the voice of his father and shepherd, nay, of the Shepherd of shepherds (*vel potius Archipastorem*). He has recognised his father's voice because he is still his child. The Greeks are not lost sheep, he urges, they are your sons. They have not fled from you. They are not disunited from you; they confess the faith of Peter, and confess whom he confessed. . . . "We know," he went on, "no other foundation than that which has been laid. We preach the same doctrine as you do, and I and all who belong to the great Apostolic Church of Constantinople teach the same doctrine as you do. There is one faith in both Churches—among the Western bishops who act under your leadership, and among us whose priesthood reflects the splendour of the glorious Eastern sun of the See of Constantinople. The same Lamb, too, *i.e.*, Christ, who takes away the sins of the world, is offered in sacrifice by both Churches. . . . It will be the work of your Holiness, looking like Christ out of the heavens, and willing and able to bring together that which is sundered, to remove the small obstacles (*parva offendicula*) which separate us, and to reconstitute the unity of the Church." As for me, said the archbishop, I am of no account, but you "in your see, in your wisdom, and in the splendour of your life, are like Christ." In this work, concluded Basil, the Pope would find a well-disposed and most powerful auxiliary in the emperor, whose will all the Greeks obey (*cujus nutui et nos parebimus*).[1]

[1] Ep. ap. Baronius, *Annal. eccles.*, an. 1155, n. 33–35, or, with the Greek original and with Hadrian's letter, ap. Mansi, *Concil.*, xxi. p. 795 ff. The servile attitude of the Greeks to the emperor in matters of religion is well brought out by the last words of the archbishop: "οὗ (the emperor's) τῷ νεύματι καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπείξομεν, καὶ τῷ δεσποτικῷ θελήματι οἱ δοῦλοι ὑπηρετήσομεν." Ffoulkes, *Christendom's Divisions*, ii. 134, in connection with this letter, holds: "It was not the papal but the patriarchal jurisdiction in the East to which the Greeks objected, nor the doctrine

A discussion between Basil and a papal envoy.

Basil, it appears, also held a discussion in connection with the question of reunion with one of the envoys whom Hadrian at different times accredited to the emperor. Both disputants gave expression to an earnest desire for a closer union between the Churches. On the one hand, the papal legate declared that it was his belief that union could be effected if the Latins would lay aside their haughtiness (ἀλαξόνεια), and the Greeks their excessive subtilty of diction. Basil, on the other hand, characteristically averred that he founded his hope of ecclesiastical concord on the great efforts which the Basileus was making in that direction, though he did not fail to defend the theologising activities of the Greeks. The usual points, especially the Procession of the Holy Ghost, were debated, and it is believed that Basil went so far as to allow that the Holy Ghost proceeded so to speak, "in the first instance (*principaliter*, ἀρχικῶς)," from the Father. But whether he did so or not,[1] it would appear that neither his concession nor the whole discussion led to any practical results.

Termination of the attempt at reunion under Hadrian.

So far at least as is known from the records of the times which have come down to us, no further efforts appear to have been made at this time to remove the obstacles which separated the Greeks from the Latins in matters of faith and practice. No doubt the pressure of political concerns brought about by the drastic measures of Babarossa deprived both Hadrian and Manuel of the

of the double procession when properly explained, and not thrust into their creed against their will."

[1] The original Greek is ambiguous in meaning: "ἀρχικῶς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ὥσπερ γεννητικῶς ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ ὁ υἱός." This quotation and this whole paragraph is drawn from Hergenröther, *Photius*, iii. 807 f. The difficulty of the passage consists in knowing whether ἀρχικῶς has its usual meaning of *principaliter*, or whether it is in exact contrast with γεννητικῶς.

peaceful leisure necessary for the prosecution of the work of reunion. During the reign of Hadrian's successor, Alexander III., Manuel certainly made it very plain that, in the hope of reuniting all Christendom under the temporal sway of Constantinople, he was really anxious to reunite it under the spiritual authority of Rome.[1] It may be, however, that, during Hadrian's pontificate, the condition of the political relations between that Pope and the German emperor was not such as to suggest so splendid an ambition to the Byzantine Basileus. Hence, as he appears to have been mostly influenced by political views, he may not have been disposed to take any decided steps towards that blessed goal of reunion to reach which Hadrian the Englishman and his great successors in the Papacy so long prayed and toiled.

[1] *Cf.* my *Lives of the Popes*, x. pp. 83, 104, etc.

CHAPTER VI.

ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

WHEN Henry II. became king of England (December 19, 1154), he had the satisfaction of knowing that about two weeks before one of his subjects had mounted the chair of Peter. It may be presumed that he at once sent him a letter of congratulation, possibly by the embassy to which attention has already been drawn;[1] and a document is extant which many have thought to be the letter which he is supposed to have despatched to him. It runs as follows: "A sweet breath of air," wrote the king,[2] "has breathed into our ears, inasmuch as we learn that the news of your elevation has scattered like a refulgent aurora the darkness of the desolation of the Church. The Apostolic See rejoices in having obtained such a consolation of her widowhood. All the churches rejoice at beholding the new light arise, and hope to behold it expand to broad day. But in particular our west rejoices that a new light has arisen to illuminate the earth, and that, by divine favour, the west has restored that sun of Christianity which had set in the east. Wherefore, most holy Father, we, sharing the general joy at your honour, . . . will lay open

Henry II. congratulates Hadrian on his accession (?).

[1] *Supra*, p. 19 ff.

[2] Ep. 168, inter epp. Petri Blesensis, ap. *P. L.*, t. 207. The letter is there given without the name of either king or Pope. It simply bears the inscription "Tali papæ talis rex," *i.e.*, "King So-and-so to Pope So-and-so." The document is to be found in very many if not in most of the MS. collections of the letters of Peter of Blois (*cf.* Thatcher, *Studies concerning Adrian IV.*, p. 33), and appears to have been merely the exercise of some student in either the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

to you our desires, confiding as we do with filial devotion in your paternal goodness. . . . Among other desires of our heart, we hope that, as the Almighty . . . has transplanted you from this land of ours into His orchard, you will take especial care to reform . . . all the churches, so that all generations may call the country of your beatitude blessed. This too we thirst for . . . that the spirit of tempests which is wont to rage furiously round the pinnacles of honour, may never wrest from you concern for your own sanctification, lest, by reason of any deficiency in you, the deepest abyss of disgrace should succeed to the highest summit of dignity. And this too we ardently long for, that, as the regulation of the Church universal belongs to you, you will take care to create cardinals who will be a real help to you, and will be full of zeal for souls; and that, in the collation of benefices, you will strive to prevent any unworthy person intruding into the Patrimony of the Crucified." Henry (?) then proceeded to beg the Pope to succour the Holy Land and the empire of Constantinople. In conclusion, he expressed a hope that he would so live and die "that your native land, which congratulates itself on your happy beginning, will find much more glory in the Lord in your happy end.[1] Finally, we request your Paternity . . . that you will be pleased to remember us, our family and kingdom, in your prayers and vows."

Such is the document, without name or date, which has been imagined to have been sent by Henry to Hadrian. But the whole nature of its contents, its references to the appointment of cardinals, to the collation of benefices, and to the reduced state of the Byzantine empire, its sentiments

[1] "Speramus quod . . . subjectas ecclesias illustrare ac inflammare curabitis . . . relicturi talia post decessum vestrum vestigia sanctitatis, quod terra nativitatis vestræ, quæ de felici juncundatur origine, de felici fine poterit felicius in Domino gloriari." *Ib.* Raby's translation has been followed for the most part.

wholly opposed to those of the dictatorial Angevin, show that, if it was not a mere student's exercise, it was in any case the production of a century later than the twelfth.

Lay interference in elections, etc., condemned.

If Henry did write a congratulatory letter to Hadrian, the answer of the Pope is not forthcoming, though not a few of the documents which proceeded from Hadrian's chancellary have reference to this country. One of the earliest of any particular importance is a strong encyclical addressed to the bishops of Germany and Sicily (?) as well as to those of England.[1] Pointing out to them that it is his duty to see to the needs of the whole Church, he bids them excommunicate those "who without the authority of their bishops do not hesitate to take possession of churches and benefices through the hands of laymen, and those who, to avoid correction, venture to betake themselves to the secular power, and strive to stir up the anger of the great ones of this world against the prelates of the Church." He concludes his trenchant letter by prohibiting under pain of anathema the consecration of any bishop or abbot whose election had not been wholly free and canonically approved.[2]

Hadrian by this time (1156) knew well what kind of men he had to deal with in Henry II. and in Barbarossa,—men who had little respect for established rights either in the Church or in the State; so that he took this early opportunity of showing them that the rights of the Church, at any rate, would be manfully upheld. A man "of heroic

[1] "Omnibus episcopis per Alemanniam, Siciliam (?) et Angliam constitutis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem" (Feb. 5, 1156), ap. Jaffé, 10, 139; and in full, ap. Lowenfeld, no. 226, p. 123.

[2] "Ad hæc adjicientes sub anathematis interminatione statuimus, ne in toto regno benedicatur aliquis in abbatem aut in episcopum consecretur, nisi a fratribus in ecclesia libere et absque denominatione laicæ sit potestatis electus et electio ipsa examinata canonice sit et rationabiliter approbata."

type"[1] himself, he had no dread of men of the same calibre. He was aware that the treaty of Constance (1153) had been necessitated by Barbarossa's disregard of the rights of the Church in general and of the Concordat of Worms in particular.[2] And the "Battle Abbey" dispute, which began during the year of the issue of the strong encyclical just quoted (1156), showed that Henry could act just as arbitrarily in ecclesiastical affairs as the emperor.

The affair of Battle Abbey.

After the battle of Hastings, William the Conqueror built on its site an abbey, in order that the monks might thank God for his victory, and might pray for the souls of those who had fallen in the fight. Then, as was his wont, assuming an authority in ecclesiastical affairs for which there was absolutely no precedent, he granted it privileges which were not only unheard of before, but which were derogatory to the rights of *the ordinary*, viz., the bishop of Chichester.[3] It is true that he had the consent of Stigand, who was the ordinary at the time;[4] but, as he was assuming powers that belonged to the Pope, it is no wonder that subsequent bishops of Chichester were not prepared to submit to a curtailment of their rights by virtue of royal charters. Securing the support of Eugenius III.,

[1] So is he characterised by the American diplomatist, D. J. Hill, *A History of Diplomacy*, i. 278.

[2] *Cf.* Hefele, *Conc.*, vii. 326 (Fr. ed.).

[3] Not Chester, as is stated in the French ed. of Hefele's *Conc.*, vii. 358. Both Selden and Spelman note that William "took upon himself a fulness of ecclesiastical power which had never been witnessed before." *Cf.* the notes to William's charter as printed in the Anglia-Christiana ed. of the *Chron. Monast. de Bello*, p. 181.

[4] This is set forth by the Conqueror in the beginning of his charter: "Notum sit vobis me concessisse . . . assensu Lanfranci . . . et Stigandi episcopi Cicestrensis . . . ut ecclesia S. Martini de Bello, quam fundavi ex voto ob victoriam quam mihi Deus in eodem loco contulit, libera sit, et quieta in perpetuum ab omni servitute et omnibus quæcumque humana mens excogitare potest." *Cf.* the charter, ap. *ib.*, p. 181.

Bishop Hilary endeavoured to subject the abbey to his authority.[1] Though he failed at first owing to the opposition of King Stephen, he renewed his attempt with the support of Hadrian, who commanded the abbot "and the Church committed to him" faithfully to obey his bishop (1156).[2] Abbot Walter, however, brought the case before Henry II., who was moved to side with the abbot when the Norman nobles identified his cause with that of the Normans in general. Protect the abbey, they said, "as the monument of your triumph and ours, . . . against all its adversaries, and most especially against the machinations of the English."[3] Thereupon Hilary endeavoured to put the case on its proper level. He pointed out that our Lord Jesus Christ had established two powers in the world, the spiritual and the material, that the bishops were the representatives of the former, and that "the Church of Rome, being invested with the apostleship of the Prince of the apostles, holds such great dignity of power throughout the world, that no bishop, no ecclesiastical person can, without his appointment or permission, be deposed from his office.[4] . . . Neither is it lawful," continued the bishop, "for any layman, no, not even for a king, to confer ecclesiastical liberties and dignities upon churches, nor to take them away when once conferred, unless by permission or confirmation of the said father, as ecclesiastical authority by the Roman law proves." These bold words provoked a storm of angry words from Henry, who accused the bishop of wishing to deprive him of the

[1] *Chron. de Bello*, p. 70. The chronicle has been translated by Lower, *The Chron. of Battel Abbey*, London, 1851.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 77 ff. [3] *Ib.*, p. 89.

[4] "Ecclesia Romana ejusdem apostolorum principis apostolatu insignita, tantam . . . per totius mundi latitudinem optinuit principatus dignitatem ut nullus episcopus . . . absque ejus judicio . . . a sede deponi possit." *Ib.*, p. 91.

royal prerogatives, and declared that he would himself decide on the merits of the case.[1] Alarmed at this outburst of the passionate monarch, Hilary renounced his claim, and became reconciled with the abbot (1157).[2] St. Thomas Becket, who was present at this trial, thus alludes to it long after in a letter to Pope Alexander, when impressing upon him Henry's tyranny: "What success had the bishop of Chichester against the abbot of Battle when he mentioned the apostolic privileges on which he was relying, and denounced the abbot as excommunicated? He was forthwith compelled to communicate with him in the face of all present, without even the form of absolution, and to receive him to the kiss of peace. For so it pleased the king and the court, which dare not contradict him in anything."[3]

Archbishop Theobald blamed for his subservience, 1156.

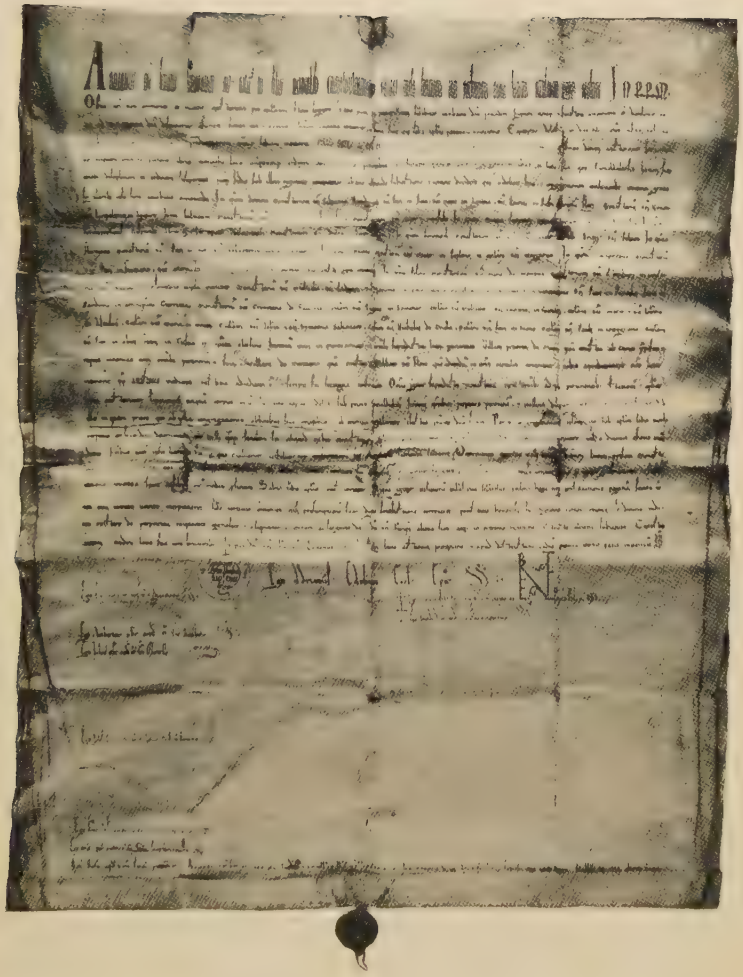
This tendency among the English bishops to submit to the illegal actions of an arbitrary monarch had already been stigmatised by Hadrian during the course of the Battle Abbey dispute. He had blamed Archbishop Theobald for "lowering the influence" of the Roman Church, since, "both in his case and in that of the king, appeals to Rome were so buried that no one dared to appeal to the Apostolic See either in his presence or in the king's." Moreover, added the indignant pontiff, "you are so slack in the administration of justice, and are said to be so devoted to the interests of the king and so afraid of him that, if ever we send you instructions to see that a man gets justice, he is never able to obtain it."[4] Hadrian

[1] *Ib.*, p. 103.

[2] *Ib.* This contemporary chronicle tells of various appeals to Pope Hadrian which were lodged by the same Abbot Walter. *Cf.* pp. 113 f. and 116 f.

[3] Ep., ap. *Materials*, vii. p. 242.

[4] Thomas Elmham, *Hist. Mon. S. Aug. Cant.*, p. 411 ff., ed. Hardwick (January 23, 1156).



A Bull of Pope Hadrian IV.

(By kind permission of Commander Tarleton.)

brought this severe letter to a conclusion by impressing on Theobald that he would not remain unpunished if he did not amend his conduct.

Privilege for Oxford.

Cases of all kinds from this country were, however, of course laid before Hadrian, and his extant letters show him adjudicating on the action of bishops,[1] calling on them or upon abbots to obey their canonical superiors,[2] striving earnestly to keep the peace between England and France,[3] and bestowing privileges.[4] It is pleasing to note that, by virtue of one of his privileges, he may be said to have helped in the making of Oxford. The historians of that venerable city aver that "the town seems to have grown up under the shadow of a nunnery,[5] which is said to have been founded by St. Frideswyde as far back as the eighth century."[6] Hence when, by a bull addressed to Prior Robert, Hadrian confirmed its possessions to St. Frideswyde's monastery,[7] he undoubtedly contributed to the steady growth of the city which depended upon it.

The famous letter or "bull" *Laudabiliter*, Apr. 1156.

But the other relations of Hadrian with England have comparatively little interest for most people compared to that which centres around the *bull* "Laudabiliter"[8] which

[1] See the case of Nigel, bishop of Ely, and his alienation of the property of the Church, ap. Jaffé, 10265 and 10535 ff. *Cf.* ep. Had. of April 25, 1156, referring to an appeal made to him by Henry himself concerning a bishop, ap. Loewenfeld, *Epp. Pont. Rom.*, p. 124.

[2] *Cf.* ep. 20, calling on the Scotch bishops to obey the archbishop of York, and epp. 79 and 121 to Abbot Silvester bidding him obey Archbishop Theobald. On the appeals to Rome of the abbot of Canterbury against his archbishop, see also John of Salisbury, *Hist. Pont.*, cc. 18 and 42, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xx., and Gervase, *Chron.*, an. 1151, etc.

[3] Ep. 194. Hadrian was an apostle of peace. It was his constant theme.

[4] Ep. 118.

[5] In the eleventh century it became a priory of Augustinian canons.

[6] Lyte, *A Hist. of the University of Oxford*, p. 2, London, 1886.

[7] Jaffé, 10462. [8] So called from the word with which it begins.

connects the Pope with Henry's invasion of Ireland. A very large amount of literature has grown up around this document, with which it is neither possible nor even desirable to deal; for much of it has rather confused than enlightened the question. Nothing more will be attempted here than to give in the fewest words what appears to be clearly ascertained with regard to Hadrian's connection with Ireland.

Henry proposes to undertake an expedition to Ireland, 1155.

"Though possessed of ample dominions" Henry "was desirous of extending them,"[1] and on Michaelmas day (September 29, 1155) "held a council at Winchester, where he deliberated with his nobility upon the conquest of Ireland, which he proposed to give to his brother William. But because the idea was displeasing to the empress his mother, the expedition was put off for the time."[2] Henry, however, had no thought of abandoning his schemes; but, thinking no doubt that the opposition of his mother would be lessened if the Pope's approval were obtained, he sent an important embassy (*nuntios solemnes*) to Hadrian craving his permission to invade Ireland. He based his petition on his desire "to extirpate the seeds of vice among the Irish people";[3] and hence, rather hypocritically it is

[1] Lingard, *Hist. of Eng.*, ii. 54.

[2] Rob. de Monte, *Chron.*, 1155, ap. *P. L.*, t. 169, p. 479. Robert died in 1186. (The conquest of Ireland had already been contemplated by William the Conqueror. *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, 1087.)

[3] Roger of Wendover, *Chron.* or *Flores Hist.*, 1155, i. p. 11, R. S. *Cf.* Giraldus Cambrensis, *De expugnat. Hibern.*, ii. 5. Roger was the first of the annalists of the monastery of St. Albans, and was most extensively used by Matthew of Paris. His chronicle from the year of our Lord has no independent value before the year 1154, at which date it begins to be printed in the R. S. From that time it is very valuable and important, as it incorporates portions of works now lost, *e.g.*, that of John de Cella, abbot of St. Albans 1195–1214. Some think that Roger himself (†1236), whose chronicle ends with the year 1234, did not commence to write as an independent authority till the year 1231. His sympathies are with the Crown and the Church. In

to be feared, he expressed a desire to the Pope of doing what he proposed in such a way as not to injure the Christian commonwealth.[1] The "important embassy" was no doubt the one which started on October 9, 1155, under Abbot Robert, of which we have already spoken, and it is scarcely a stretch of the imagination to suppose that the affairs of Ireland were among "the important concerns of the king" entrusted to its management (*quædam ardua negotia regalia*).[2]

Henry's ambassadors, with the aid of John of Salisbury, obtain a feudal grant of Ireland.

The ambassadors found the Pope at Benevento, where it is certain that he resided at least from November 1155 to July 1156, and he himself testifies to the fact that they actually appeared before him, and that they had been sent by the English king.[3] At Benevento the ambassadors also found John of Salisbury, one of the most learned and upright men of his age, and the friend[4] and fellow-countryman of the Pope. Through his friendship with the Pope, John was able to obtain for them the principal favour they had come to seek. This he tells us himself in the last chapter of his philosophical work which he called *Metalogicus*, and which he wrote in 1159. He opens the chapter by saying that grief prevents him from writing more. There is war between the English and the French; his friend Pope Hadrian is dead; and his "father and lord,"[5] Archbishop Theobald, is dangerously ill, and has

addition to the abbot, the embassy was made up of the bishops of Le Mans, Lisieux, and Evreux.

[1] Matthew of Paris, *Hist. Minor*, 1155, i. p. 304, R. S. "Rogavit . . . ut sibi liceret, sine scandalo læsionis fidei Christianæ, Hiberniæ insulæ intrare . . . sibi et Dei cultui subjugare."

[2] *Gest. Abb. S. Alb.*, i. 128, R. S.

[3] Ep. of April 25, 1156, ap. Loewenfeld, *Epp. RR. PP.*, p. 124.

[4] *Cf. supra*, p. 16 ff.

[5] On John's official relations with Theobald, see Wright, *Biographia Britannica* (Anglo-Norman period), p. 233, Lond., 1846. About 1150 John "returned to England, and resided mainly at the court of Canter-

laid upon him the care of all the ecclesiastics. The death of the Pope especially distressed him; for, affirms John, "he declared in public as well as in private that he had a greater affection for me than for any other person in the world. He had formed such an opinion of me that he was delighted to open his heart and conscience to me, as often as opportunity offered. Though Roman pontiff, he was pleased to have me as guest at his table; and, in spite of my reluctance, he required that one plate and one cup should be in common between us. At my request he ceded and bestowed Ireland upon the illustrious king of England, Henry II., to be possessed by hereditary right, as his letters prove to this day.[1] For all islands, in virtue of a very ancient law, are considered to belong to the Roman Church, through a donation of Constantine, who founded and endowed this Church.[2] Moreover, Pope Hadrian sent by me (*per me transmisit*) a gold ring, adorned with a most beautiful emerald,[3] by which investiture with the right of governing Ireland should be made;

bury, engaged on secretarial and diplomatic work," writes *The Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, i. 185, Cambridge, 1907. How extensive were the diplomatic undertakings of John may be gathered from his own words at the beginning of the third book of his *Metalogicus*. He crossed the Alps ten times from England, traversed Apulia twice, very often (*sæpius*) transacted the business of his masters and friends at the court of Rome, and had very frequently to travel through England and France on business (*emergentibus variis causis*).

[1] "Ad preces meas illustri regi Anglorum Henrico II. concessit et dedit Hiberniam jure hereditario possidendam, sicut littere ipsius testantur in hodiernum diem." *Metal.*, c. 42.

[2] So had already declared Urban II.; *cf.* his epp. 50 and 51 (June 3 and 28, 1091), ap. *P. L.*, t. 150.

[3] *Cf.* Giraldus, *l.c.* It is curious that when Hadrian's tomb was opened, an emerald ring was found on his finger. *Cf. supra*, p. 83. Hergenröther, *Catholic Church and Christian State*, vol. ii., Essay xii., pt. i., when treating of this *bull* "Laudabiliter" proves that rings were not uncommonly sent under similar circumstances.

and this ring is still preserved by order in the public treasury."[1]

It is, then, quite impossible to doubt that Hadrian made a feudal grant of Ireland to Henry; *i.e.*, he made over that island to the English king to be held as a fief under his suzerainty. No use was, however, made of the papal concession at the time, owing, it may be presumed, either to the continued opposition of the empress-mother, or to Henry's wish to get absolute possession of Ireland, and not to hold it as a mere vassal; or, what is perhaps still more likely, to the difficulties in which he was soon involved with his brother Geoffrey, and with Louis VII. of France concerning his Continental possessions.

Is the grant of Hadrian still extant?

While, then, it may be stated as certain that Henry received from Hadrian a concession regarding Ireland, there yet remains to inquire whether the grant itself has been preserved. It would seem that it has. About the year 1188 Giraldus Cambrensis[2] wrote his *Conquest of*

[1] *Metal.*, c. 42. Thurston's translation of this passage is here used. "Anulum quoque per me transmisit aureum, smaragdo optimo decoratum, quo fieret investitura juris in regenda Hibernia. Idemque adhuc anulus in cimiliarchio publico jussus est custodiri." Efforts have been made to prove this chapter an interpolation. But its style is that of John, full of quotations from Scripture and the classics, and it closes with a prayer like the *Polycraticus*, the *Eutheticus*, and the *Life of St. Anselm*. Moreover, the political situation is accurately described in the said chapter, and finally, the title of chapter 42 prefixed to the book is peculiarly appropriate as the chapter now stands: "Quod visibilia argumenta mundum vanitati subjectum esse convincunt et quæ causa fuerit hic finiendi librum." And, writes Thurston, p. 423, "the heading of this last chapter appears in its proper place in the table of contents, as I have satisfied myself by an inspection of the two copies at the British Museum, one a MS. of the twelfth, the other of the thirteenth, century." Besides, Liebermann found that none of the MSS. of the *Metalogicus* which he examined "omit or curtail the disputed chapter, or show any sign of being tampered with." *Ib.*, p. 422. *Cf.* p. 483 n.

[2] Otherwise known as Gerald the Welshman, or Gerald Barry. See *G. the W.*, by Dr. H. Owen, London, 1904, and *Gérold le Gallois*, by A. Joly, ap. *Mémoires de l'Académie*, 1887 ff. It may be noted that

Ireland (*Expugnatio Hibernica*), and in this work, after telling us that Henry had obtained a privilege relating to Ireland from Hadrian through John of Salisbury, he proceeds to quote the following letter:—

Hadrian's letter.

"Hadrian, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our most dear Son in Christ, the illustrious King of the English, greeting and the Apostolical Benediction.

"The thoughts of your Highness are laudably and profitably directed to the greater glory of your name on earth, and to the increase of the reward of eternal happiness in heaven, when as a Catholic Prince you propose to yourself to extend the borders of the Church, to announce the truths of the Christian faith to ignorant and barbarous nations, and to root out the weeds of wickedness from the field of the Lord; and the more effectually to accomplish this, you implore the counsel and favour of the Holy See. In which matter we feel that the more discreet your proceedings, the happier with God's aid will be the result; because those undertakings which proceed from the ardour of faith and the love of religion are sure always to have a prosperous end and issue.

"It is beyond all doubt, as your highness also doth acknowledge, that Ireland, and all the islands upon which the Christ the Sun of Justice has shone, and which have received the knowledge of Christian faith, are subject to St. Peter and to the most holy Roman Church. Wherefore we are the more desirous to sow in them an acceptable seed and a plantation pleasing to God, as we see the more clearly, after close reflection, that this is required of us.[1]

"Now, most dear Son in Christ, you have signified to us

Orpen, one of the latest students of the history of Ireland of this period, regards him as having "faithfully recorded what he said and heard"—allowance being made for certain obvious prepossessions.

[1] In the latter half of this sentence we give a different translation to that of Cardinal Moran, whose version of this bull, as given by

that you propose to enter the island of Ireland to establish the observance of law among its people, and to eradicate the weeds of vice; and that you are willing to pay from every house one penny (*denarius*) as an annual tribute to St. Peter,[1] and to preserve the rights of the churches of the land whole and inviolate. We, therefore, receiving with due favour your pious and laudable desires, and graciously granting our consent to your petition, declare that it is pleasing and acceptable to us, that for the purpose of enlarging the limits of the Church, setting bounds to the torrent of vice, reforming evil manners, planting the seeds of virtue, and increasing Christian faith, you should enter that island and carry into effect those things which belong to the service of God and to the salvation of that people, and that the people of that land should honourably receive and reverence you as Lord: the rights of the churches being preserved, untouched, and entire, and reserving the annual tribute of one penny from every house to St. Peter, and the most holy Roman Church.

"If therefore you resolve to carry these designs into execution, let it be your study to form that people to good morals, and take such orders both by yourself and by those

M'Loughlin, *Adrian IV.*, p. 174, we have here adopted. The Latin original is printed in the appendix from the R. S. edition of Giraldus (v. 317) by Dimock, who notes (*ib.*, p. 316 n.): "It (the letter) is most indisputably genuine; and so now allowed by Irish scholars." We have also there printed, after Whitley Stokes (*English Hist. Rev.*, vol. xx., Jan. 1905, p. 77 ff.), from a fifteenth-century MS. of an Irish abridgment of the *Expugnatio*, what relates to the *bulls* of Hadrian and Alexander III. Dr. Stokes considers (p. 77) that the abridgment tends to prove that in the fourteenth or fifteenth century the Celtic Irish recognised the general fairness and truth of the *Expugnatio*.

[1] Seeing that Hadrian, when legate in Scandinavia, "seems certainly to have first introduced the payment of Peter's Pence into Sweden, where it was unknown before, and probably into Norway as well," it is admitted that "the reference to Peter's Pence is very true to what we know of Pope Adrian's financial policy." Thurston, *Month*, p. 490.

whom you shall find qualified in faith, in words, and in conduct, that the Church there may be adorned, and the practices of Christian faith be planted and increased; and let all that tends to the glory of God and the salvation of souls be so ordered by you, that you may deserve to obtain from God an increase of everlasting reward, and may secure on earth a glorious name throughout all time. Given at Rome," etc.

This document, published by Giraldus in *three* of his works, is also found in Ralph de Diceto's *Ymagines Historiarum*, which was compiled before 1199, and, as Ralph cannot be shown to have borrowed from Giraldus on any other occasion, it is probable that he did not copy from him on this one.[1] Roger of Wendover also gives the *bull*, apparently from some source independent of Giraldus, and Cardinal Baronius drew it from an ancient Vatican codex.[2] Further, what is much more important, the text of *Laudabiliter* appears in the Book of Leinster, which was "almost certainly" drawn up during the lifetime of Dermot MacMurrogh (†1171), and "probably" by Dermot's old tutor Aedh M'Crimthainn.[3] So rapid and widespread a

[1] *Cf.* Stubbs' ed. of Ralph, i. 300, and ii., pp. xvii to xix, and p. xxx ff. R. S.

[2] See Thurston, *Month*, *l.c.*, p. 486 ff., for various arguments to show that neither Ralph nor Wendover nor Baronius was dependent on Giraldus for the *bull*.

[3] So says A. O'Clery in his article on "Adrian IV." in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, i. 158 (New York). It would appear that the *bull* when published was not unacceptable to those of the Irish at least who longed for a little peace; for, according to the writer we are quoting, "to the text of the bull are affixed the following headings: 'Ah! men of the faith of the world, how beautiful (so far Gaelic) when over the cold sea in ships Zephyrus wafts glad tidings (Latin). A bull granted to the king of the English on the collation (*i.e.*, grant) of Hibernia, in which nothing is derogated from the rights of the Irish, as appears by the words of the text,'" in Latin also. *Cf.* O'Clery's (Ua Clerigh) book, *The History of Ireland*, i. p. 380 ff., London.

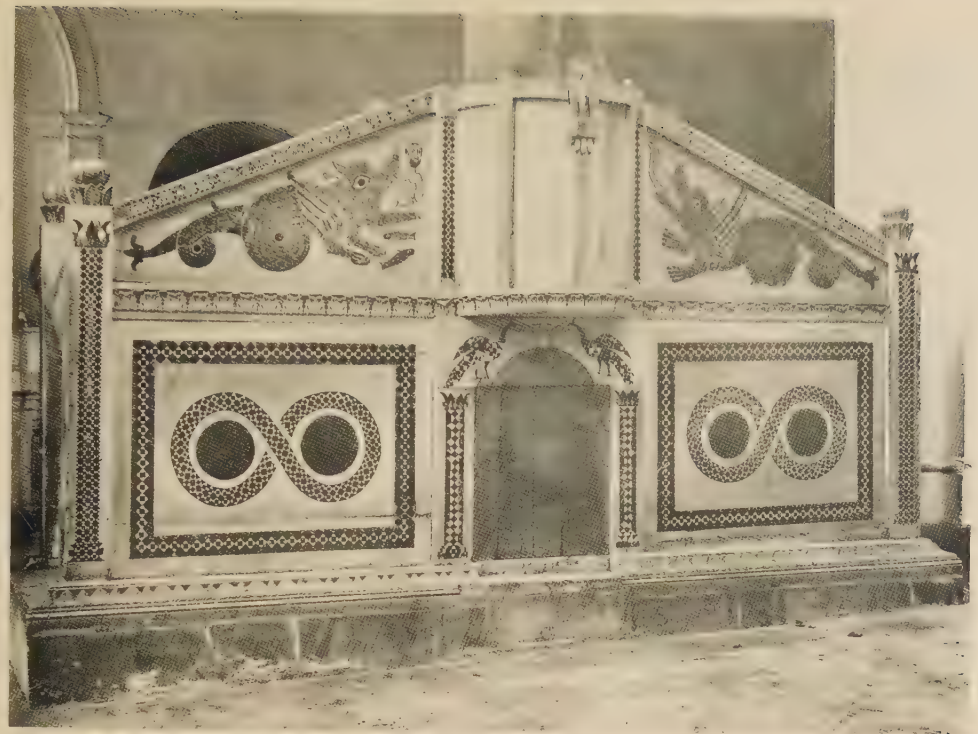


Photo N. P. G.

Pulpit from the Cathedral of Ravello.

diffusion of the *Laudabiliter* letter quite precludes the idea of its having been a mere scholastic exercise[1] or forgery of any kind.

What influenced Hadrian to sanction Henry's invasion of Ireland.

Hadrian was undoubtedly moved to entrust Ireland to the Normans because he saw on the one hand the wretched condition of the country, and on the other what good the Normans had effected in south Italy and in England. He was, indeed, perfectly alive to their defects, but he had seen some kind of ecclesiastical and civil order developed by them out of the miserable chaos of southern Italy, and he had seen the English Church quite revivified by the action of such Normans as Lanfranc and Anselm. Both England and Ireland had been dragged down to the lowest depths by the ravages of the Norsemen. The Normans, descendants of these very destroyers, had put new life into the English Church, and Hadrian hoped that they would

[1] Those who contend that it was a mere student's exercise, point out that it was clearly modelled on the authentic letter of Hadrian to Louis VII. of France, forbidding him to lead an armed expedition into Spain unless invited by its people and rulers (ep. 241). But it is quite a general rule that papal letters on similar subjects are to a very large extent drawn up on similar lines, and employ to a considerable extent the same words. The similarity, then, of the two documents tells therefore also for the authenticity of *Laudabiliter*. But, we may add with the Rev. G. T. Stokes, *Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church*, p. 45 f., "suppose Adrian did not issue this bull, and that Giraldus and all the historians of the period conspired to foist a forgery on the public. Still (the opponents of the bull) are in no better case. Pope after Pope, legate after legate, even during Henry II.'s reign, solemnly proclaimed the papal sanction of the Norman Conquest. Alexander III. confirmed Henry's action. The Papal legate Vivianus renewed the confirmation at a public synod in 1177. Numerous bulls, extant with ourselves, in Alan's *Register*, the *Crede Mihi*, the *Liber Albus* and *Liber Niger* of Christ Church, and in the documents published by the Vatican itself some twenty years ago, proclaim the same thing." The documents here referred to are letters of Honorius III. (p. 2) and Innocent III. (nos. 136, 137) in Theiner, *Vet. monument. Hibernorum*, Rome, 1864. The *Crede Mihi* is a thirteenth-century collection of documents, and the *Liber Niger* of Archbishop Alan belongs to the year 1530.

do as much for the Irish Church, which was even in a worse condition than the English Church had been. The causes of degradation had been at work for a hundred years longer in Ireland than in England. The victory of Brian Boru, which had crushed the power of the Norsemen, had not brought unity to the Irish themselves. Their internal dissensions after the death of Brian had proved as fatal to Ireland's prosperity as the swords of the Danes. When Hadrian became Pope its civil and ecclesiastical condition was still appalling, and had been made well known to Rome by St. Malachy.[1] It was therefore in the hope that the Normans would do for Ireland what they had done for England that Hadrian authorised their going thither, on condition that they should work for its improvement. That his intentions were not fulfilled does not render them less estimable, or show that he was not justified in forming them.[2]

[1] *Cf.* my *Lives of the Popes*, ix. p. 92 ff. For our knowledge of the sad state of morality in Ireland at this time we are not dependent simply on the statements of Giraldus (*Topog. Hibern.*, dist. iii., c. 19 (al. 14) ff., etc.), but on those of St. Malachy, of Alexander III. in letters to be quoted hereafter, and of even a Norse writer of this age, who got his information from the oral communication of his friends who had frequently visited Ireland. In his work entitled *Konungs Skuggsiá* or *Speculum regale* he writes that the Irish nation "quæ hanc terram incolit et ferox sit, crudelis et male feriata" (p. 89). He also mentions the civil wars which ruined the country. *Cf.* the ed. of H. Einarsen with Danish and Latin translation, Soroe, 1768. The famous Henry, abbot of Clairvaux, afterwards cardinal-bishop of Albano, writing to Pope Alexander III. (ep. 4, ap. *P. L.*, t. 204, p. 218), speaks of the grand work of the legate bishop Christian "in insula Hiberniæ . . . in populo illo barbaro et gente novissima," and begs of the Pope to consecrate a successor to him, "timentes utique illi barbaræ nationi, ne facile in eis naturalis feritas recrudescat." The Annals of the Four Masters show the terrible havoc which the civil wars wrought in Ireland during the pontificate of Hadrian. See Stokes, *Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church*, Lecture I.; and his *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 108, n. 2.

[2] On these points see the excellent paper of Cardinal Newman ("Northmen and Normans in England and Ireland") in the first vol.

But, as a matter of fact, Henry did not undertake to subdue Ireland on the strength of Hadrian's privilege, which soon became valueless by the death of its donor. When he did invade Ireland it was not because he had papal sanction to endeavour to improve its moral and political condition, but because circumstances forced his hand. In 1168 he had permitted Dermot MacMurrough, one of the many kings in Ireland, to enlist some of his barons to help him to recover the throne from which he had been driven.

Henry does at length invade Ireland.

Three years later (1171), jealous of the success which had attended the expedition of his vassals, and perhaps because he wished to avoid the legates whom Pope Alexander III. had despatched to England to examine into the murder of St. Thomas Becket, Henry crossed over to Ireland (October).[1] In a very short time he had received the homage of most of the chief men in the country,[2] and on November 6 he received the submission of the Irish

Henry crosses over to Ireland, 1171.

of his *Historical Sketches*, London, 1872. He points out with strict justice that the serious evils of the English annexation did not begin "till the English monarchy was false to the Pope as well as to Ireland" (p. 262). "It is Protestantism which has been the tyrannical oppressor of the Irish. . . . The Tudor, not the Plantagenet, introduced the iron age of Ireland." *Ib.*

[1] "Henricus rex Anglie ultra se elatus, inconcessa captans et affectans indebita, regnum Hybernie subjugaturus, *et regium diadema*, ut putabat, capiti suo impositurus naves parat," etc. *Chron. Sigebert. contin. Aquicinctina*, an. 1172, ap. *P. L.*, t. 160.

[2] Giraldus, *Expug.*, i. 31–33; *Gesta Henrici*, an. 1171, ap. R. S., i. 25. The *Gesta* (1170 to the spring of 1192) is a most valuable record, on a level with the contemporary portions of Florence of Worcester or Simeon of Durham. Its author is unknown; but at one time it was erroneously attributed to Benedict of Peterborough, because that abbot had caused a portion of it to be transcribed. Stubbs, in his invaluable preface to the *Gesta*, suggests that it may *possibly* be the work of Richard Fitz-Neal, treasurer of Henry II., afterwards bishop of London, and author of the *Dialogus de Scaccario*. It is now, however, agreed that it certainly was not his work.

bishops and abbots at a council held at Cashel, presided over by Christian, bishop of Lismore, the papal legate. Various disciplinary canons were published by this synod which might have been productive of much good if Henry had remained long enough in the country to bring about order.[1] But in about six months (April 1172) he left it to meet the Pope's legates in Normandy.

He obtains privileges from Alexander III. 1172.

Meanwhile he despatched to Rome, by the hands of Ralph, archdeacon of Llandaff (the very man whom he had sent to hold the council of Cashel with the Irish bishops),[2] the formal documents in which the Irish episcopate had recognised him and his heirs as kings of Ireland.[3] Informed of the state of Ireland by the letters of the Irish bishops, and by the king's envoys and by "common report," Alexander complied to some extent with the wishes of Henry, and sent him various privileges (September 20, 1172).

He sends them to Ireland, 1172–73.

The king at once sent these documents to Ireland by the hands of William Fitz-Audelin, his *Dapifer* (standard-bearer), who had been frequently employed by him on diplomatic missions in that country.[4] Arrived in Ireland,

[1] Giraldus, *ib.*, 34, 35 ; *Gesta*, *ib.*, p. 28. [2] *Gesta*, i. p. 28.

[3] *Ib.* "Rex Angliæ misit nuncios suos ad Alexandrum . . . cum litteris archiepiscoporum et episcoporum Hyberniæ ad confirmandum sibi et heredibus suis regnum Hyberniæ." *Cf. ib.*, i. 26, and Giraldus, *Expug.*, ii. 5. "Anglorum rex . . . cum prænotatis spurcitiarum literis in synodo Cassiliensi per industriam quæsitis, directis ad curiam Romanam nunciis, ab Alexandro . . . privilegium impetravit," etc. *Cf.* epp. 1002, 3, 4 of Alex. III., dated Tusculum, Sept. 20, 1172. It is the first of these letters which tells us that Ralph was one of the king's envoys.

[4] *Cf.* Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of Henry II.*, p. 160 ff., London, 1878. *Cf.* Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 516–18, and *The Commune of London*, p. 151 f. It is Giraldus, *l.c.*, ap. v. 315, R. S., who says that one of the bearers of the Pope's letters to Ireland was William Fitz-Audelin, and his assertion is supported in an entry on the *Pipe Roll* of 1173 giving the expenses of William's journey : "In passagio Willelmi filii Aldelini et sociorum suorum et hernesiorum suorum in

the envoys laid before the Irish hierarchy both Alexander's letters and the letter of Hadrian, which they had taken from the archives of Winchester, where it had remained so long unused.[1] The bishops received the documents at the council of Waterford (1173), and signified their assent to them.[2]

The synod of Waterford, 1173.

With the letter of Hadrian the reader is already familiar, it remains, therefore, only to speak of the privileges granted by Pope Alexander. Henry brought the letters of both pontiffs before the Irish clergy to show that one of them had authorised the commencement of his undertaking, and that the other had approved of what he had already accomplished. Now, on the subject of the relations of Henry II. to Ireland, we have four letters of Alexander III. Of these, three, found originally in the so-called *Liber niger Scaccarii* (Black Book of the Exchequer), which was published by Hearne,[3] are all dated from Tusculum,

Hyberniam xxvii sol. et vi den. per breve Ricardi de Luci" (p. 145), quoted by Round, *The Commune of London*, p. 182. On the date (1173) of William's embassy and of the council of Waterford, *cf. ib.*, p. 181 ff. Furthermore, Orpen notes that a letter (ap. Rymer, *Fœdera*, i. 36) generally referred to the year 1181 is really a letter of credence given to W. Fitz-Audelin at this time (1173). In it the king commends to all Ireland "Willielmum, filium Adelmi," to whom he has entrusted his business.

[1] Hence Giraldus, *Expug.*, ii. 6 (v. 320), gives as one of the five rights which, according to him, the English kings had to Ireland: "Summorum pontificum, qui insulas omnes sibi speciali quodam jure respiciunt (vindicant) . . . confirmans accessit auctoritas." With this compare the statement made by Nicholas IV. in a dispensation granted by him on May 13, 1290, ap. Theiner, *Monumenta Hibernorum*, p. 151: "Henricus olim rex Anglorum de voluntate sedis ipsius armata manu terram predictam (Ireland) intravit, et eam ac habitatores ipsius ad ejusdem sedis obedientiam suaque (sic) pro posse reduxit," etc. See Round, *l.c.*, p. 199.

[2] Giraldus, *Expug.*, ii. 5 (v. 315–6, R. S.).

[3] London, 1771, i. p. 41 ff. From the *Liber Niger* the three letters passed into Rymer's *Fœdera*, and thence into *P. L.*, t. 200, p. 883 f., whence we quote them.

September 20, 1172, and are accepted as genuine by all authorities of any standing.[1] The fourth begins "Quoniam ea," and is the one quoted by Giraldus[2] as having been read and accepted at the council of Waterford.

The three letters of Alexander.

The first of the three letters of Pope Alexander is addressed to Henry. It opens by congratulating him on his successes in Ireland, where the people have abandoned themselves to vice and to mutual destruction,[3] and thanking him for his efforts to lessen the evils he found there.[4] As penance for his sins he must persevere in his laudable beginnings for the good of the country,[5] and must even extend the rights of the Roman Church in Ireland. The other two letters of September 20, 1172, are addressed to the kings and bishops of Ireland. The Pope is glad to hear that they have accepted Henry "as their King and Lord, because there will be greater peace and tranquillity" in Ireland, and he trusts that they will faithfully submit to him.

The letter "Quoniam ea."

The fourth letter confirms to Henry that title of King or

[1] *E.g.*, Jaffé, 12,162 (8174) ff.; Cardinal Moran, the chief impugner of *Laudabiliter*, etc.

[2] *Expug.*, ii. 5 (v. 318, R. S.); ap. Jaffé, 12,174. Giraldus also quotes this letter in his *De Instructione Principum*, p. 53 f., ed. London, 1846. In this latter place the letter is introduced as follows: "Secundi vero privilegii tenor hic; sicut a quibusdam impetratum asseritur aut configitur, ab aliis aut unquam impetratum fuisse negatur." This addition, notes the editor of Giraldus (v. 318 n., R. S.), "has much the air of a marginal note that had got incorporated in the text, but it may perhaps be of early date, if not Giraldus's own addition."

[3] "Quæ (the Irish people) divino timore postposito tanquam effrenis passim per abrupta deviat vitiorum, et Christianæ fidei religionem abjicit et virtutis, et se interimit mutuo cæde." Ep. 1002. Alexander says that Christian, bishop of Lismore, and the Irish bishops have told him of the vices of the people.

[4] "Ad exstirpandam tantæ abominationis spurcitiam" . . . "abjecta spurcitia peccatorum." *Ib.* *Cf.* these phrases with "eliminatis terræ illius spurcitiis" of the letter "Quoniam ea."

[5] Here we have reference to the murder of St. Thomas Becket (1171), and a suggestion of the bull *Laudabiliter*—"in eo quod *laudabiliter* incœpisti." *Ib.*

Lord of Ireland which had been allowed him by Hadrian, and which its writer had already called upon the bishops and princes of Ireland to recognise. "Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the illustrious King of the English, health and apostolical benediction.

"Since those things deserve to be established for ever which are recognised as granted with good reason by our predecessors, We, following in the footsteps of the venerable Pope Adrian, and earnestly anxious for the fruit of our desire,[1] do ratify and confirm the concession of the said Pope regarding the dominion of the kingdom of Ireland granted to you, saving to Blessed Peter and to the holy Roman Church, as well in England as in Ireland, the annual payment of one penny (*denarius*) from each house. So that the filthiness of that land being purged out, a barbarous nation, which is reckoned to bear the Christian name, may, by your diligence, put on the comeliness of sound morality, and the Church of those parts, hitherto unordered, being brought into some proper form, that race may henceforth through you effectively obtain the title of Christian."[2]

[1] Here we are following the reading in the *De Instruc. Princip.*, which gives *nostri* instead of the *vestri* in the R. S. ed. of Giraldus, *Expug.*, ii. 5.

[2] We accept this letter as authentic because its preamble is in complete accordance with genuine letters of the Popes, and because in substance and phraseology it is bound up with the other letters of Alexander, with *Laudabiliter*, and with the narrative of the *Gesta* and Giraldus, and because to reject it forces one to suppose a number of contemporaries engaged in plots to mislead posterity and in wholesale forgeries. If, on the contrary, *Laudabiliter* and *Quoniam ea* are regarded as authentic, if we suppose the narratives of the *Gesta* and Giraldus are substantially truthful, we find that letters and narratives are fundamentally in harmony both with themselves and with other documents which can check them. The text of *Quoniam ea* will be found in the Appendix.

In leaving the thorny path of the Irish expedition of Henry, we may remark that, if the wishes of the Popes had been put into effect, Ireland would have had a different history. In that case its princes and bishops would have acknowledged the suzerainty of Henry, who would have introduced into Ireland the tranquillity which he established in England by the destruction of the castles which the barons had erected in England in the reign of Stephen. Then, with its people obedient to their native princes, who would have owed fealty to a suzerain capable of enforcing respect for law, Ireland would have attained, in the twelfth century, to that condition of things which earnest men are still endeavouring to bring about in the twentieth. We should have seen, in the twelfth century, Ireland enjoying local independence under a powerful and wealthy suzerain,[1] and with this additional advantage

[1] The medieval Irish themselves supposed that this was the state of things which the bull of Hadrian had in view. Donald O'Neill, king of Ulster, along with his nobles and people, writing to Pope John XXII. to protest against the cruel oppression practised by the Anglo-Normans in Ireland (1318), urges that it is these men who have prevented them from holding their lands directly from the king, *i.e.*, to use the feudal language of the time, from holding them *in capite*, as tenants in chief.

"Dovenaldus Oneyl, Rex Ultoniæ," as his name appears in the original document, reminds the Pope that since the days when Pope Celestine sent St. Patrick to Ireland, the kings of Ireland have remained "in humble obedience to the Roman Church." He urges that the English kings have not even observed the conditions of Hadrian's bull which gave them Ireland: "metas concessionis sibi factæ per bullam papalem *sub certis articulis* ex ipsa bulla serie evidenter apparet simpliciter sunt transgressi." Still, he assures the Pope that the Irish chiefs are ready to hold their lands directly from the king of England in accordance with the terms of the bull *Laudabiliter*, which they forward to him: "quod nostram terram, solum nobis de jure debitam, de ipso (King Edward) *immediate* teneremus omni absque renisu . . . juxta conditiones et articulos in bulla Adriani." To show how little regard had really been paid to Hadrian's bull, the king points out that Peter's Pence had never been collected from Ireland. In fine, he begs the Pope to see that the English do not maltreat them in future. The

which it would not have if that were effected now: in the twelfth century the suzerain would himself have been subject to the monitor of Europe, to the Pope of Rome, then looked up to as the supreme judge of kings and nations. But Henry did not accomplish what was expected of him by Hadrian IV. and Alexander III. He did not set up a government in Ireland strong enough to compel both the Irish chieftain and the Anglo-Norman baron to keep the king's peace, and to bow to the supremacy of the law. Some, indeed, think that he only made confusion worse confounded; but to such attention may be drawn to certain conclusions of Mr. Orpen. He has, he writes,[1] "been led to regard the domination of the English Crown and of its ministers in Ireland during the thirteenth century, and indeed up to the invasion of Edward Bruce in the year 1315, as having been much more complete than has been generally recognised, and to think that due credit has not been given to the new rulers for creating the comparative peace and order and the manifest progress and prosperity that Ireland enjoyed during that period, wherever their rule was effective."

Various undertakings of Hadrian. i. The Templars.

With reluctance must we bring this biography to a close, just alluding to Hadrian's support of the Templars.[2] For this he was blamed by his candid critic, John of Salisbury. In reviewing the state of the religious orders of his day, Pope Hadrian, says John, found that the extensive papal privileges which they had received were being largely used to gratify avarice. He, accordingly,

king's letter, which is very long, even in the form in which it has come down to us, is to be found in John of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, xii. 26, vol. ii. p. 295 ff. of the fine folio edition of W. Goodall, Edinburgh, 1775. A full analysis of this important document is given by O'Clery (Ua Clerigh) in his *Hist. of Ireland*, i. 408 f.

[1] *Ireland*, i., preface, p. 7.

[2] Epp. 40–41, 147; and Jaffé, 10,330 ff.

at first wished to recall them all, but, as that would have been impolitic and unjust, he decided to limit them. He hence decreed that the freedom from taxation often claimed by the religious orders should only extend to *novalia, i.e.*, to fallow-land which they had themselves brought under cultivation.[1] By this regulation, adds John, they could enjoy their privileges without grave injury to the rights of others. John, however, proceeds to express his profound astonishment that "so great a Father" continued to allow the Templars to hold benefices with the cure of souls. For although the knights did not themselves undertake the cure of souls, the severe critic seemed to think that it was opposed to the canons that the Blood of Christ should be administered even by deputy by those whose profession it was to shed the blood of men.

ii. The Hospitallers.

Though neither the Templars nor the Hospitallers were without their faults, Hadrian was, not unnaturally, well disposed to both these Orders. They were the mainstay of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. They formed its regular army.

The only event connected with the life of Hadrian which William of Tyre narrates at any length is concerned with the Hospitallers; and, in what he has to tell us about it, we must not forget that the archiepiscopal historian looked at the episode from the point of view of a bishop. He complains of the insubordination of the Hospitallers towards bishops, and says that its cause, perhaps its innocent cause, was the Roman Church when it freed them from episcopal control.[2]

[1] *Polycraticus*, l. vii. c. 21. "Licentiam eorum (the privileges) hac moderatione compescuit, ut quæ de laboribus usurpant, circa *novalia* duntaxat interpretantur."

[2] *Hist.*, xviii. 3, 6.

On the occasion of a dispute concerning tithes between the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Hospitallers, the latter, *according to William*, prevented him from preaching to the people not merely by the continued ringing of bells, but even by firing volleys of arrows into the church.[1] Unable to obtain redress from the superiors of the Knights, the Patriarch with some of his suffragans went to Italy. They had, however, great difficulty in meeting Hadrian, as "some said" (*dicebant quidam*) he purposely avoided them because, "it was said" (*dicebatur*), the Hospitallers had bribed him.[2] At length they obtained a hearing from Hadrian at Ferentino (September 1155). But the case was given against them both by the Pope and by the whole body of the cardinals, with the exception of two, one of whom was the subsequent antipope Octavian,[3] and the other, the lord John of S. Martino, who had formerly been the Patriarch's archdeacon. It is the same William who furnishes us with these particulars who has the hardihood to tell us that all the other cardinals were on the look-out for bribes.[4]

iii. Gerhoh of Reichersberg.

And now, passing over the English Pope's advocacy of the rights of the Genoese in the kingdom of Jerusalem,[5] and of the primacy of Toledo,[6] we will but pause to note that he did not show as much favour as his predecessors[7] to the famous Gerhoh of Reichersberg. Though Gerhoh

[1] Tyre, *ib.*, c. 3.

[2] *Ib.*, c. 7. It is the usual story. The party that lost the case always *heard* that the Pope had been bribed by their opponents.

[3] For the character of Octavian, see the *life* of Alexander III.

[4] *Ib.*, c. 8.

[5] Ep. 75, Jaffé, 10,107 ff., and the letter of the Genoese, ap. *P. L.*, t. 188, p. 1644.

[6] Epp. 80, 83, 86.

[7] See ep. 31 of Celestine II., ap. *P. L.*, t. 179; and ep. 85 of Lucius II., ap. *ib.*; and ep. 111 of Eugenius III., ap. *ib.*; Jaffé, 8576, 7.

dedicated a treatise to him[1] in which he called upon him to show that the zeal of his predecessors was astir in him,[2] and though he even declared that Hadrian was so animated by the spirit of the apostle Peter, nay, of Christ Himself, as to love and support those whom he knew to be good, and to be contending for the law of God,[3] still he had sorrowfully to confess that Hadrian knew him not,[4] and that consequently he had fallen into the hands of his enemies.[5] Gerhoh attributes the Pope's neglect of him to the difficulties and troubles which surrounded him.[6] But, though Gerhoh was careful to state that he wished never to differ from the Roman Church in matters of faith,[7] a wise churchman like Hadrian may readily have regarded it as the soundest policy not to give any attention to the questions to which so bold a theoriser as Gerhoh wished to wring (*extorquere*) answers from him.[8] Practical problems had a greater charm for Hadrian than brilliant schemes of reform, no matter how useful or even necessary, which were impractical at the moment.

We cannot do better, in bringing to a close our *Life* of Hadrian IV., than quote the words with which one of his modern English admirers and biographers con-

[1] *Liber de novitatibus hujus temporis*, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, iii. It begins: "Ad te Romane pontifex Adriane, patrem et dominum meum loquar . . . ausu loquendi non temerario, sed, ut arbitror, necessario."

[2] *Ib.*, c. 3.

[3] *Comment. in Psalm LXV.*, ap. *ib.*, p. 493.

[4] Still we find Hadrian confirming the privileges of the monastery of Reichersberg at his request. Jaffé, 10,581, August 1159.

[5] *Comment. in Psalm CXXXIII.*, p. 502.

[6] *Opusc. de Gloria Filii Hominis*, p. 397.

[7] "Nunquam in doctrina fidei a S. R. E. dissentire volo." *Ib.*

[8] "Romanis autem pontificibus Anastasio et Adriano licet nonnulla scripserim, nullum potui responsum ad questiones meas extorquere." *Ib.*

The Tomb of Hadrian IV. and his Portrait from a Mosaic.
(By kind permission of Commander Tarleton.)

cludes the preface to his *Life* of the same Pope: "If it is good for us to study the lives of those who, by unsullied careers, have added lustre to their native country, and to revere their names, we Englishmen can surely spare some of our admiration for Nicholas Breakspear."[1]

[1] Tarleton, p. vii.

Leaden Bulla of Hadrian IV.

APPENDIX.

(See pp. 113 n., 118 n.)

THE FOURTEENTH- OR FIFTEENTH-CENTURY IRISH VERSION OF GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS.

65. Ro cuir in rí leitreacha le Nicolass prioir Ualingpurt & le Villiam Aldelmess, & ro cuir cairthi & peacaidh lochta na hErenn isin sgríbhinn docum Alaxandra inn papa, & do íar ar an papa isna leitrib sin comus smachtaigthi bfer n-Erenn & a mban, & tuc an papa in t-udarass sin don righ maille re na priueleit fein. Do cruindighedh clíar Erenn co Port Lairge, & do léghadh na bulladha sin, & tuccadh cách umhla dóibh, ïtir cill & túaith.

66. IS é so cumair foirme na mbulladha sin. O'ttcualaidh in papa dar' comainm Andrian, slighe pecach nemhglan do bí ac popul na Erenn, & cur' meassa íad náid beathadaigh brúidemla, co robatar i n-agaidh Dé & na hEclaissi & an creitim cathoileaca, do óentaigh sé don ri techt a n-Erinn do smachtachadh na ndobés & do daingneachadh an reachta cóir, ardáigh comm-beith gach aén duine ac dénamh onóra do Día & tárbha da hanmain & maithisi dá chele a coitcinde, & co mbeith céall & túath ag foghnamh dá chele. Tuc sé mur tigernus dá cinn sin, & mur comartha air a hucht Dé & Petair, pinginn dó gacha bliadhna mar císs as gach tigh i n-Erinn, amal dobeirthas a Sasanaibh.

Translation.

65. The king sent letters to Alexander the Pope by Nicholas, prior of Wallingford, and by William Fitz Aldelm, and in the writing detailed the offences and sins of the people of Ireland; and he asked the Pope in those letters for power to control the men of Ireland and their wives. The Pope gave the king that authority, together with his own privilege. The clergy of

Ireland were gathered to Waterford, and those bulls were read, and everyone, both churchmen and laymen, was yielding obedience to them.

66. This is, in short, the tenor of those bulls. When the Pope, whose name was Adrian, heard of the sinful and impure ways of the people of Ireland, and that they were worse than brutish animals, and that they were opposed to God and the Church and the Catholic faith, he consented that the king should go into Ireland to control the vices and to strengthen the right law, so that everyone might be doing honour to God, and profiting his soul, and benefiting each other in common, and that Church and folk might be serving one another.

On account of that, and as a token of dominion, he [the king], at the instigation of God and St. Peter, gave him [the Pope] a penny each year as tribute from every house in Ireland, even as was given in England.

THE BULL OF HADRIAN IV.

Adrianus episcopus, servus servorum. Dei, carissimo in Christo filio illustri Anglorum regi salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem. Laudabiliter satis et fructuose, de glorioso nomine propagando in terris, et æternæ felicitatis præmio cumulando in cœlis, tua magnificentia cogitat; dum ad dilatandos ecclesiæ terminos ad declarandam indoctis et rudibus populis Christianæ fidei veritatem, et vitiorum plantaria de agro Dominico exstirpanda, sicut catholicus princeps intendis; et ad id convenientius exequendum, consilium apostolicæ sedis exigis et favorem. In quo facto, quanto altiori consilio et majori discretione procedis, tanto in eo feliciorem progressum te, præstante Domino, confidimus habiturum; eo quod ad bonum exitum semper et finem soleant attingere, quæ de ardore fidei, et religionis amore, principium acceperunt. Sane Hiberniam, et omnes insulas, quibus sol justitiæ Christus illuxit, et quæ documenta fidei Christianæ ceperunt, ad jus beati Petri et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ quod tua etiam nobilitas recognoscit, non est dubium pertinere. Unde tanto in eis libentius plantationem fidelem et germen gratum Deo inserimus, quanto id a nobis interno examine districtius prospicimus exigendum. Significasti siquidem nobis, fili

in Christo carissime, te Hiberniæ insulam, ad subdendum illum populum legibus, et vitiorum plantaria inde exstirpanda, velle intrare; et de singulis domibus annuam unius denarii beato Petro velle solvere pensionem; et jura ecclesiarum illius terræ illibata et integra conservare. Nos itaque, pium et laudabile desiderium tuum cum favore congruo prosequentes, et petitioni tuæ benignum impendentes assensum, gratum et acceptum habemus, ut pro dilatandis ecclesiæ terminis, pro vitiorum restringendo decursu pro corrigendis moribus et virtutibus inserendis, pro Christianæ religionis augmento, insulam illam ingrediaris et quæ ad honorem Dei et salutem illius terræ spectaverint exequaris, et illius terræ populus honorifice te recipiat et sicut dominum veneretur. Jure nimirum ecclesiarum illibato et integro permanente, et salva beato Petro, et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ de singulis domibus annua unius denarii pensione. Si ergo quod concepisti animo, effectu duxeris prosequente complendum, stude gentem illam bonis moribus informare: et agas tam per te, quam per illos quos ad hoc fide, verbo, et vita, idoneos esse prospexeris, ut decoretur ibi ecclesia, plantetur et crescat fidei Christianæ religio, et quæ ad honorem Dei et salutem pertinent animarum [per te] taliter ordinentur ut a Deo sempiternæ mercedis cumulum consequi merearis, et in terris gloriosum nomen valeas in seculis obtinere.

THE BULL OF POPE ALEXANDER III.

Secundi vero privilegii tenor hic: "Alexander episcopus servus servorum Dei, carissimo in Christo filio, illustri Anglorum regi, salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem. Quonian ea, quæ a decessoribus nostris rationabiliter indulta noscuntur, perpetua merentur stabilitate firmari, venerabilis Adriani papæ vestigiis inhærentes vestrique desiderii fructum attendentes, concessionem ejusdem super Hibernici regni dominio vobis indulto, salva beato Petro et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, sicut in Anglia sic et in Hibernia, de singulis domibus annua unius denarii pensione, ratam habemus et confirmamus: quatinus, eliminatis terræ illius spurcitiis, barbara natio, quæ Christiano censetur nomine, vestra diligentia morum induat venustatem et redacta in formam hactenus informi finium illorum ecclesia, gens ea per vos Christianæ professionis nomen cum effectu de cetero consequatur."

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